

187 other dialects. Of particular cultural importance are the *Chango* (Chango) and *Chango* (Chango).

[25] The "Pacheco" country occupies the higher slopes and inter-mountain valleys of the Andes, partly adapted, in extent of the low temperature, to the climate. The most characteristic feature being open culture is the Chango plain (Andean plateau), which covers great areas in the high inter-mountain valleys and on the open slopes and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 27°N to 27°S.

188 The open country of the Argentine Andes is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Frontier" (p. 1, Handbook, vol. 1, p. 10).

AMERICAN TERRITORY

189 In the first century of the White in Chile, American-speaking people occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the island of Chilo in, at least, the Rio Chango. The southern limit was Comodoro Cid, immediately north of the, in the Chilean Islands and the archipelago beyond, was the sea. American (Rio Chango, 1917, pp. 10-11). The southern limit is less sharply defined from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1607, p. 11) and from local place names, the area between the Chango and Comodoro was also at least partly American.

190 Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries lived in the adjacent to the Andean plateau lands of the higher inter-mountain valleys of the Andes between about lat. 27° and 27° S, these people plus had the American place, and the way called "Pacheco" (Chango) (1607, p. 11) and later "Pacheco" by contemporary Spanish writers, was the American-speaking, it is not clear.

191 Indians constituted a small amount of Indians, mostly non-Spanish, in support of the view that they were not the American-speaking, but that they became Americanized in language in the 16th century (Barrios, 1920-21, pp. 120-121). They were first explicitly named as American-speaking by Pizarro in 1532 (1532, p. 10; cf. Barrios, 1921, p. 10; 1921, p. 10-11). The Indians from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Pacheco" (1607) and Barrios, give clues to the language spoken by the place-naming people called therein "Pacheco" ("Pacheco"). The place-naming "Pacheco" described in the "Pacheco" (1607) was probably non-American speaking (1607, pp. 11, 12, 120-121, 121, 122; P. Calvo, 1920, pp. 46-47). But Barrios, in his account of his journey taken in 1532 or 1533 through the upper northern "Pacheco" country south of lat. 27° S. to the "Pacheco" country east of the "Pacheco" country, is careful to state that the "Pacheco" spoke a non-American language, whereas he makes no

mention of the "*Pegüenche*" so doing. And, further, most at least of the "*Pegüenche*" personal and local names he records appear to be *Araucanians* (Rosales, 1877-78, 1: 198, 203; 3: 431-38). 197
101

The seeming conflict between the evidence from Rosales, Pietas, and Molina on the one hand and that from the "Proceso criminal de 1658" on the other is largely solved if we assume that the "*Pehuenche*" of the last source were not identical with the "*Pegüenche*" of the first three sources. Such an assumption of nonidentity is well within the probabilities in view of the very loose and variant use of this and other tribal denominations in our earlier as well as in our more recent sources. The assumption receives some positive confirmation from the fact that the "*Pegüenche*" chieftains' names mentioned by Rosales as of 1650-53 do not coincide with those recorded by the "Proceso criminal" as of 1658. Nor, seemingly, do the habitats assigned to the two groups coincide. Neither Rosales nor the "Proceso criminal de 1658" gives us very precise data thereupon. But by piecing together the scattered clues in each source, we can infer with reasonable probability that Rosales' *Pegüenche* lived in the high Cordillera flanking what is now central and southern Neuquén Territory from about lat. 38° S. to the neighborhood of Lake Nahuelhuapi (Rosales, 1877-78, 1: 176, 198, 211, 269, 468-69; 3: 431), and that the *Pehuenche* of the "Proceso criminal de 1658" occupied territory well north of them, about the latitude (ca. 36° 30') of Cerro Payén, in the western part of what is now the southern extension of Mendoza Province (Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, pp. 136, 138, 143, 147, 151), and perhaps somewhat east of the main Andean range, since one at least of the *Pehuenche* examined in 1658 testified that he was "natural de Payén" (ibid., 143). 174

In view of the foregoing evidence (about all we have which bears significantly on our problem, as the cultural and somatological evidence adduced by Latcham is hardly relevant) it would appear somewhat more probable than not that the pre-18th-century pifion-eating "*Pehuenche*" of the early Chilean chroniclers were *Araucanian*-speaking. But a definitive solution of the problem, if it is ever reached, will have to await much fuller study of the already published evidence—especially cautious analysis of recorded local and personal names by trained linguists thoroughly competent in the *Araucanian* and *Pampean* tongues—or the discovery of further pertinent archival documents.

As previously noted, the *Araucanians* did not begin to occupy in any large measure what is now Argentine territory until about the beginning of the 18th century. Thereafter, the main bodies of the migrants tended to keep more toward the Andean foothills and the western half or third of the Pampa from about the Limay to Mendoza Province—a point on which more details will be given in the following section on Tribal Names and Divisions. 174

- [3] At the present time, west of the Andes, the *Araucanian*-speaking Indians are massed mainly in southern Middle Chile, from about lat. 37° to 42° S., in the Provinces of Arauco, Bío-Bío, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. There are a few scattered *Araucanian*-speaking Indians between the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers, but apparently none north of the Maule, and few or none, so far as the present writer can discover, on Chiloé, although north of the Bío-Bío River and on Chiloé somatological and cultural (Cavada, 1914) influences still survive in greater or lesser degree. East of the Andes, the surviving pure blood and Mestizo remnants of the earlier transcordilleran *Araucanian* migrants are found scattered in various sections of the Pampa, chiefly in the Territory of Neuquén, with other groups in the Province of Mendoza and the Territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Chubut.

TRIBAL NAMES AND DIVISIONS

- [10] The tribal appellation "*Araucano*" was first used by Ercilla in his "*La Araucana*" of 1569-89 (1910, p. xix), to denote the Indians of the locality of Arauco ("muddy water," from *Araucanian* ragh, raq, rau, "clay," + ko, co, "water"). Modern anthropology uses the term for all Indians speaking the *Araucanian* or *Mapuche* language, and it is this usage which we are following in the present paper. The *Araucanians* themselves do not use the term. They call themselves simply che, "people," or re che, "unmixed, pure, real" + "people." Modern Chilean *Araucanians* commonly use and prefer *Mapuche*, "People of the Land" (mapu, "land," + che).

The terms *Auco* (syn.: *Auko*, *Ouco*, *Aucano*, *Aucanian*), "rebel," from *Quechua* *suka*, "enemy, rebel," and *Promauca* (syn.: *Prothucca*, *Promanca*, *Promoca*, *Peromoca*, *Promaca*, *Poromocaca*, *Paramoca*, *Pomoroca*), "wild enemy," from *Quechua* *purun*, *purum*, "uncultivated field, wild," + *suka*, were names given by the *Inca* to the rebel or unconquered Indians south of the Maipo River to the Bío-Bío River, and were adopted and used in a similar limited sense by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries. The anthropological use—as, e.g., by Brinton—of *Auca* as a generic name for "*Araucanians*" has not been a happy one.

- [10] Present-day anthropological usage, well justified by our historical, linguistic, and cultural evidence, divides the *Araucanians* into the following main groups:

West of Andes:

Picunche.

Mapuche.

Huilliche (and *Cunco*).

Andean Highlands:

Pebuenche.

East of the Andes:

Argentine Araucanians.

In the present paper "*Araucanian*" is used to include all these divisions, and these subdivisional names are used in their currently accepted anthropological connotations to be defined in the following paragraphs. The more important variant uses of the subdivisional names by the *Araucanians* themselves, by non-*Araucanians* Indians, and by earlier writers, will be noted in passing. 101
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The *Picunche* (syn.: *Picones*), "North People," from *Araucanian* *picu*, *pikun*, *pikuna*, "north," + *che*, "people," occupied the area from the Andes to the Pacific Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River. At different times in the past, the southern boundary of the *Picu* mapu, "north country," the territory of the *Picunche*, has been variously located from as far north as the Itata or the Bío-Bío to as far south as the Toltén (Havestadt, 1883, 2:680-81), depending largely on the relative geographical location of the users of the name and on the relative southern extension, at the time of use, of White conquest and rule. Some, too, of the *Araucanian*-speaking, and perhaps even some non-*Araucanians*, groups to the east of the Andes in the Tucumán and Mendoza regions of the western Pampa and eastern foothills were denominated *Picunche* in the middle and late 18th century. In modern times, the name has also been used for the *Araucanians* of Collipulli and the neighborhood in the Chilean Province of Malleco (Lenz, 1904-10, 2:583).

Latham (1928 a, p. 128) subdivides the *Picunche* into three groups: those from (a) the Choapa to the Maipé River, (b) the Maipé to the Maule River, the earlier "*Promocoses*," and (c) the Maule River to the Itata River.

The *Mapuche* (*Mapunche*; Felix Jose, 1910, p. 24; 1916, 1:131), "*People of the Land*," from *Araucanian* *mapu*, "land," + *che*, occupied and still largely occupy the area west of the Andes from the Itata or the Bío-Bío River to the Toltén River. The name is acceptable to present-day *Araucanians* themselves in this sense, although it can be and has been used with either a more inclusive meaning to signify all *Araucanians*, Chilean and Argentine, or with a less inclusive one to signify any local group, however small.

The *Huilliche* (*Huilli*, *Huiliche*, *Guiliche*, *Guilliche*, *Chupliche*, *Veliche*, *Beliche*), "South People," from *Araucanian* *willi*, "south," + *che*, occupied, and still partially occupy, the territory south of the Toltén, the Quepe, or the Calle Calle Rivers, to Corcovado Gulf, including Chiloé. At different times in the past the northern boundary of the *Huilli* mapu has been located at various points between the Itata and the Toltén River. (Cf. *supra* under "*Picunche*.") Sometimes, too, the *Chono* and *Chilotan Araucanians* have been included in the *Huilliche*, sometimes differentiated therefrom. In one early account, Geiseler's of 1837-38, the canoe-using Indians (*Chono*)

- 10/ between Corcovado Gulf and Cape Tres Montes are called "*Huilliche*," while Falkner used *Pichi* ("Small-bodied") *Huilliche* for the *Araucanians* from Valdivia to the Sea of Chiloé, and *Vuta* ("Large-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Indians on both sides of the Cordillera from Chiloé to the Strait of Magellan (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30-32). (On use of "*Huilliche*" for Argentine *Araucanians*, cf. *infra*.)

The *Onco* (syn.: *Junco*; in forms such as *Guinchi*, *Cunches*, and *Cenchi* (pl.) and *Kuncho*, as used by Molina, who followed Italian orthography, or as derived from him, *ch* = *k*; etymology uncertain) occupied the western third or half of the Chilean mainland from Valdivia or the Bueno to the Canal of Chacao, especially, according to Latcham (1928 a, p. 205), the Departments of Carimapu and Osorno.

The *Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahu* of the older chroniclers and modern anthropologists were not *Araucanians*. Falkner's use of "*Chono*" as inclusive of the *Araucanian*-speaking Chilotean Indians was erroneous. The term *Huilliche Serrano* came in during the second third of the 18th century, according to Latcham (1929-30, 64:21), to denote groups, previously called *Puiche*, of the Cordillera. The term *Moluche* (syn.: *Moluche*, *Nyuluche*), probably "Western People," from *Araucanian* gull, gulfus, "west," + *che* (not "Warrior People," Lenz, 1904-10, 2:509) first appears in our literature in 1774 as used by Falkner for the *Araucanians* both east and west of the Andes from the "confines of Perú" (or Coquimbo) south and including the non-*Araucanian* *Chono*, *Poya*, and *Caucahu* to the Strait of Magellan. *Moluche* was a name by which they were then known to the Argentine or "eastern" *Araucanians*. *Aucu*, wherever used, refers to *Araucanians*.

The *Peluche* (*Pepuche*), "People of the Pines," from *Araucanian* *pahuin*, *pehuin*, *puwin*, "Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*)," occupied the high slopes and valleys of the main Andean Cordillera where their chief staple food, the *Araucaria*, grew, that is, from about lat. 37° 20' to 40° 20' S., and seemingly, they at different times or in different seasons of the year occupied or roamed over some of the territory outside of but adjacent to the *Araucaria* range. It is by no means clear whether the 17th-century "*Peluche*" of the Cordillera between lat. 37° and 40° S. were the ethnic forebears of the 18th- and 19th-century "*Peluche*" of the Cordillera between 34° and 37° described by Molina (1901, pp. 262-68) and others. (Cf. *infra* under Culture of the *Peluche*.) Some of the early Chilean writers, such as Ercilla (1910, p. xix) and Olaverria (1882, p. 15) refer to these cordilleran people as "*Puiche*." From the middle 17th century on, the name *Peluche* has been used for various bodies of Indians, in most cases, but not in all, identifiable as *Araucanian*-speaking, of the high Cordillera, of the eastern slopes thereof, or of the adjacent

Pampa, from about lat. 34° to 40° S.; in the second half of the 18th century, for the non-Araucanian "Sereno" Indians of the Sierra del Volcán and the Sierra de la Ventana regions, in the eastern Pampa south of Buenos Aires, and south of these ranges to or toward the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1938, pp. 29-30—possibly an author's or printer's error for "Puelche"). Since the middle of the 18th century, the name *Peluchek* has also been used for a branch or branches of the Argentine Araucanians with their centers in or near the eastern slopes of the Andes. (Falkner, 1935, p. 87; Sánchez Labrador, 1938, pp. 30-31; De la Cruz, 1938, p. 36; Cox, 1963, pp. 164-165; Toussaint, 1963, p. 2.)

Many of these Araucanian-speaking "Peluchek" of the Argentine Pampa may well have been descendants, in part at least, of the earlier 15th- to 17th-century pison-eating *Peluchek* of the high Cordillera, but the relationship cannot be confidently established from our present evidence.

The Argentine Araucanians or subdivisions of them have been called by a great many names, of which the more important are: *Meluche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1938, p. 30); *Villaviluche* (Sánchez Labrador, *ibid.*); *Pisuche* (Falkner, *ibid.*; Sánchez Labrador, 1938, p. 31; Musters, 1871, pp. 231, 234); *Heilliche*, *Pichi Heilliche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 99; *Araucania*, *pichi*—"small"); *Peluchek*, *Pepuchek* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1938, pp. 30-31; De la Cruz, 1938; Cox, 1963, p. 164); *Pisun-peluchek* and *Heilipeluchek* (Cox, *ibid.*); *Mansueto*, *Hombres del Mansueto* (Sánchez Labrador, 1938, p. 31; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Millangin, 1898, p. 38; Span, *manzano*—"apple tree"); *Seaguelche* (Sánchez Labrador, 1938, p. 30), *Seaguelche*, *Seaguelche* (Manilla, 1877), *Seaguelche* (D'Orbigny, 1835-67, p. 235: "People of the Andes," *from Araucania*, *rañel*, *rañel* (*r*—*s*, dialectic shift)="red" (*Chusquea* sp. and/or *Paspalum* sp.)); *Puelche*, *Puelche* (*Araucania*, *puel*, "east," + *che*)—*Sereno* (Camacho, 1783, in Clark, 1937, pp. 114-115); *Mepuche* (Moreno, 1879); *Pampa* (Barbard, 1930); *Pampas* (Molina, 1878 b, p. 493; 1901, p. 266); *Araucanos del Pampa* (D'Orbigny, 1835-67, 2:225). Of the nine smaller groups listed as "Puelche" by Falkner, Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, p. 89) considered the following to have been Araucanian-speaking: *Talchek*, *Louche*; the following in part Araucanian-speaking: *Dinche*, *Chiliche*, *Chilichilche*.

Around the middle of the 18th century, when we get our first glimpse of the respective locations of these subdivisions, the main body of the Argentine Araucanians called *Meluche* (*Pisuche*, *Peluchek*, and *Heilliche*) by Falkner (1935, pp. 96-98), and *Meluche*, *Pisuche*, *Pepuchek*, *Villaviluche* and *Seaguelche* by Sánchez Labrador (1938, pp. 30-31) appears to have been moved around the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa from about lat. 30° S., somewhat

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- 101 south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 43° S., a little south of Lake Nahuelhuapi. In 1806, De la Cruz (1836, p. 36) located the *Pegüenche* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 262) had done earlier, and the *Gelliche* south of them. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* were around Antuco (1833-38, 1381). Mansilla in 1870 (1877, 1:3,6; 2:275) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 35° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Río Quinto and the Río Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisational names as used for Chilean and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Pegüenche* in the middle 18th century are descendants of the early 18th-century *Pehuenche* of Pietaa, or of the middle 17th-century *Pehuenche* of Rosales and of the "Proceso criminal de 1658"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Mansilla are descendants of Sánchez Labrador's *Sanquiche*. Such subdivisational names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or option of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Picunche* located by Falkner from about lat. 30° to 35° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Picunche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 18th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

- 161 Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to one and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Bío-Bío and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Bío-Bío Rivers was at a very

early period reduced greatly. Mariño de Lovera remarked (1865, p. 448) that after 50 years of warfare, where formerly the Indians had been counted in thousands, they were then (circa 1594) to be reckoned in fifties. Hard labor under the *encomienda* system in the fields and mines and towns also took its toll as did likewise, it would seem, disease (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 200) and social disorganization. 161 165

The Chilotans, who at first contact are estimated to have exceeded 50,000, had a little over two centuries later dwindled to 11,000 (Olivares, 1864, p. 61; 1874, p. 365); great numbers of them were in the early 17th century captured, taken away, and sold as slaves.

Estimates of present-day *Araucanian* numbers will depend a good deal upon what we understand by "*Araucanians*." The Chilean census of 1907 listed 101,118, that of 1920, 105,162, all between the Bío-Bío River and the Canal of Chacao. Brand (1941 a, p. 23) was informed that the Chilean Government recognized the existence of some 187,000 *Araucanians*. He was also told by an *Araucanian* leader, Martín Collió Huaiquillaf, that a population of 300,000 was claimed in 1941. "If we count as 'Indian' anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 300,000 *Araucanians* probably is not too high" (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24; cf. 1941 c, p. 83). This estimate, and Brand's estimate of 200,000 Indians speaking *Araucanian* dialects, appear to be our best ones.

The *Araucanian*-speaking Indians in Argentine territory are variously estimated to number from a few hundred to 3,000 or 4,000 (Brand, 1941 a, p. 24). In Mansilla's time, 1870, the *Ranquel* alone were estimated by him to number 8,000 to 10,000 (1877, 2:274). Fasulo, in 1925, estimated the total Indian population of the Pampa and Patagonia, including the *Araucanian* elements, at about 7,000 (1925, p. 161).

From the middle to the end of the last century great reductions in the native population from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao took place as a result of wars and feuds, of smallpox and cholera epidemics, and, apparently, of alcoholism. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the *Araucanian* population of Chile appears to have been steadily increasing. 165 164

LANGUAGE

Araucanian is an independent linguistic family. Each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but these are mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts (such as, e. g., *r=s=d*, *u=a*, *t=p=ch*), different meanings for the same word, different words for same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutually intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty. 197

197 (Félix José, 1910, pp. xi-xii; 1916, 1:vi). Speakers of a given dialect are apt to pride themselves on using better *Araucanian* than speakers of another, and make fun of the latter's manner of speech. In all dialects there is a more elegant mode of speaking, resorted to especially in meetings of leaders. *Araucanian* has incorporated a considerable number of loan words from *Quechua*.

HISTORY

175 The recorded history of the *Araucanians* begins with the first *Inca* invasion of their territory under Tupac Yupanqui, who reigned probably circa A. D. 1448-82. The *Inca* frontier was finally fixed at the Río Maule. By the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in *Araucanian* Chile, *Inca* governors had been appointed in the provinces as far south as the Río Maipo, tribute was being exacted, and outpost forts had been erected between the Río Cachapoal and the Río Maule. But the influence of *Inca* culture upon *Araucanian* in this northern zone does not appear to have been very profound.

648 First contact between the *Araucanians* and the Spaniards took place in 1536 when Diego de Almagro with his main army penetrated to Aconcagua, some of his men getting as far south as the Río Maule. But the permanent occupation of *Araucanian* territory began with Pedro de Valdivia, who, setting out from Cusco in early 1540, reached the valley of Mapocho early in 1541, and founded the city of Santiago on February 12 of the same year. During the following 12 years, to 1553, he established footholds, founding cities and building forts, as far south as Villarica and Valdivia. In 1556, García Hurtado de Mendoza extended the invasion to Chiloé. There followed four decades of bitter warfare between the Spaniards and the *Araucanians*, which came to a head with the death in 1598 of the governor, Martín García de Loyola, and the almost total destruction of the Spanish settlements in *Araucanian* territory south of the Bio-Bio River.

The struggle continued intermittently through the 17th century, giving place in the 18th, with the inauguration of less oppressive policies, to relatively peaceful relations, broken chiefly by the uprisings of 1723, 1740, and 1766. The last stage of the three-and-a-half-century-long struggle was ushered in around the middle of the 19th century, with the impulse then given to foreign immigration into Chile and to White infiltration into the *Araucanian* frontier region. The last uprising of the *Araucanians* began in 1880, and ended with their definitive pacification in 1883-83.

In general, throughout this long period, from 1541 to 1883, relatively little opposition from the *Araucanians* was experienced north of the Río Maule and south of the Río Imperial by the Spaniards; most of the struggle occurred in the central *Araucanian* territory be-

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bio-Bio and the Imperial Rivers. 175
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During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The *encomienda* system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian* women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the *Araucanians* learned much of European military tactics, offensive and defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge and new weapons with deadly effect. 175
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Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the missionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* from the Bio-Bio River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the Jesuits, from 1598 to their expulsion in 1767-68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 175
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In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* culture in the central zone, from the Bio-Bio River to the Rio Imperial and even to the Gulf of Reloncavi, remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bio-Bio and the Maipo Rivers and on the Island of Chilo early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of those zones. 175
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In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

175
648 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "Papelike" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "Puelike" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:468). These "Papelike" on returning to their own country must have brought back some Araucanian cultural influences, some knowledge of the Araucanian tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional Araucanian wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "Papelike" and by lowland Araucanians down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877-78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52-53; cf. *Proceso criminal de 1638*, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual Araucanians or small bands of Araucanian refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringes of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-Araucanian natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1920, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673-80 Araucanians were actively trading with non-Araucanian peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105, 108).

The major phase of the Araucanian diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929-30). In 1707, Araucanians were associating or in alliance with non-Araucanians on the Rio Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54-55). A little later, 1709-15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canale Frau, 1941, pp. 233-234).

By the middle of the 18th century Araucanians were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, in Fábreg C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Rosa and Villagra (1819-52), they played a premier rôle in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Rio Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the Tehuelche south of the same river.

CULTURE

144 By far the greatest bulk of our information on Araucanian culture concerns the Mapuche and the mainland Huilliche (including the Cuncos). Our information on the culture of the Chilean and Argentine Araucanians is much less extensive; on that of the *Papelike*

and early *Peluché*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilean culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Peluché* and Argentine Araucanian cultures appear appreciably modified by non-Araucanian influences. The early *Peluché* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various Araucanian subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Peluché*, Argentine Araucanian, and *Peluché* cultures.

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unmarked, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically.

Sixteenth century: Gómara (1563), [1565], 1568; Borda (1910), [1569-80], ca. 1567-68; Céspedes Martel (1565), [1575], 1569-7; Mariño de Lobera (1565), [ca. 1565], 1565-66; Ovando (1565), [1565], Oña (157), [1566].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1607), [1608], 159-1632; González de Najera (1608), [1614], 1605-7; Narváez (1608), [1675], 139; Brouwer (1602), [1645], 1642; Barrios (1647); Mangrove (1648); Ovalle (1683), [1648]; Rosales (1677-78), [1674-5], ca. 1669-62.

Eighteenth century: Folgar (1716); Potos (1740), [1738], 1739; Olivares (1740), [1738-47], [1738], [1738], ca. 1738-47; Folgar (1740), [1745]; Havestadt (1740), [1777], 1740-47; Molina (1779 a), [1776], [1779 b], [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1787; Gómez de Valverde (1788), [1788], before 1787; Carvallo i Goyenache (1790), [1790], ca. 1788-82.

Nineteenth century to 1890: Desnoyer (1845), 1845; Smith (1853), 1853; Ruiz Arce (1860), [1860], ca. 1850; Molina (1860).

1890 to present: Loe (1890-97, 1898, 1899-1900), ca. 1890-1898; Guevara (1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903), ca. 1898-1900; Leitcham (1900, 1915 b, 1916 a, 1917 b, 1918 a, 1919 b, 1920-21, 1922 a, 1923-24, 1924-25, 1926-27, 1928-29, 1930-31, 1932-33, 1934-35, 1936-37, 1938-39, 1940-41, 1942-43, 1944-45, 1946-47, 1948-49, 1950-51, 1952-53, 1954-55, 1956-57, 1958-59, 1960-61, 1962-63, 1964-65, 1966-67, 1968-69, 1970-71, 1972-73, 1974-75, 1976-77, 1978-79, 1980-81, 1982-83, 1984-85, 1986-87, 1988-89, 1990-91, 1992-93, 1994-95, 1996-97, 1998-99, 2000-01, 2002-03, 2004-05, 2006-07, 2008-09, 2010-11, 2012-13, 2014-15, 2016-17, 2018-19, 2020-21, 2022-23, 2024-25, 2026-27, 2028-29, 2030-31, 2032-33, 2034-35, 2036-37, 2038-39, 2040-41, 2042-43, 2044-45, 2046-47, 2048-49, 2050-51, 2052-53, 2054-55, 2056-57, 2058-59, 2060-61, 2062-63, 2064-65, 2066-67, 2068-69, 2070-71, 2072-73, 2074-75, 2076-77, 2078-79, 2080-81, 2082-83, 2084-85, 2086-87, 2088-89, 2090-91, 2092-93, 2094-95, 2096-97, 2098-99, 2100-01, 2102-03, 2104-05, 2106-07, 2108-09, 2110-11, 2112-13, 2114-15, 2116-17, 2118-19, 2120-21, 2122-23, 2124-25, 2126-27, 2128-29, 2130-31, 2132-33, 2134-35, 2136-37, 2138-39, 2140-41, 2142-43, 2144-45, 2146-47, 2148-49, 2150-51, 2152-53, 2154-55, 2156-57, 2158-59, 2160-61, 2162-63, 2164-65, 2166-67, 2168-69, 2170-71, 2172-73, 2174-75, 2176-77, 2178-79, 2180-81, 2182-83, 2184-85, 2186-87, 2188-89, 2190-91, 2192-93, 2194-95, 2196-97, 2198-99, 2200-01, 2202-03, 2204-05, 2206-07, 2208-09, 2210-11, 2212-13, 2214-15, 2216-17, 2218-19, 2220-21, 2222-23, 2224-25, 2226-27, 2228-29, 2230-31, 2232-33, 2234-35, 2236-37, 2238-39, 2240-41, 2242-43, 2244-45, 2246-47, 2248-49, 2250-51, 2252-53, 2254-55, 2256-57, 2258-59, 2260-61, 2262-63, 2264-65, 2266-67, 2268-69, 2270-71, 2272-73, 2274-75, 2276-77, 2278-79, 2280-81, 2282-83, 2284-85, 2286-87, 2288-89, 2290-91, 2292-93, 2294-95, 2296-97, 2298-99, 2300-01, 2302-03, 2304-05, 2306-07, 2308-09, 2310-11, 2312-13, 2314-15, 2316-17, 2318-19, 2320-21, 2322-23, 2324-25, 2326-27, 2328-29, 2330-31, 2332-33, 2334-35, 2336-37, 2338-39, 2340-41, 2342-43, 2344-45, 2346-47, 2348-49, 2350-51, 2352-53, 2354-55, 2356-57, 2358-59, 2360-61, 2362-63, 2364-65, 2366-67, 2368-69, 2370-71, 2372-73, 2374-75, 2376-77, 2378-79, 2380-81, 2382-83, 2384-85, 2386-87, 2388-89, 2390-91, 2392-93, 2394-95, 2396-97, 2398-99, 2400-01, 2402-03, 2404-05, 2406-07, 2408-09, 2410-11, 2412-13, 2414-15, 2416-17, 2418-19, 2420-21, 2422-23, 2424-25, 2426-27, 2428-29, 2430-31, 2432-33, 2434-35, 2436-37, 2438-39, 2440-41, 2442-43, 2444-45, 2446-47, 2448-49, 2450-51, 2452-53, 2454-55, 2456-57, 2458-59, 2460-61, 2462-63, 2464-65, 2466-67, 2468-69, 2470-71, 2472-73, 2474-75, 2476-77, 2478-79, 2480-81, 2482-83, 2484-85, 2486-87, 2488-89, 2490-91, 2492-93, 2494-95, 2496-97, 2498-99, 2500-01, 2502-03, 2504-05, 2506-07, 2508-09, 2510-11, 2512-13, 2514-15, 2516-17, 2518-19, 2520-21, 2522-23, 2524-25, 2526-27, 2528-29, 2530-31, 2532-33, 2534-35, 2536-37, 2538-39, 2540-41, 2542-43, 2544-45, 2546-47, 2548-49, 2550-51, 2552-53, 2554-55, 2556-57, 2558-59, 2560-61, 2562-63, 2564-65, 2566-67, 2568-69, 2570-71, 2572-73, 2574-75, 2576-77, 2578-79, 2580-81, 2582-83, 2584-85, 2586-87, 2588-89, 2590-91, 2592-93, 2594-95, 2596-97, 2598-99, 2600-01, 2602-03, 2604-05, 2606-07, 2608-09, 2610-11, 2612-13, 2614-15, 2616-17, 2618-19, 2620-21, 2622-23, 2624-25, 2626-27, 2628-29, 2630-31, 2632-33, 2634-35, 2636-37, 2638-39, 2640-41, 2642-43, 2644-45, 2646-47, 2648-49, 2650-51, 2652-53, 2654-55, 2656-57, 2658-59, 2660-61, 2662-63, 2664-65, 2666-67, 2668-69, 2670-71, 2672-73, 2674-75, 2676-77, 2678-79, 2680-81, 2682-83, 2684-85, 2686-87, 2688-89, 2690-91, 2692-93, 2694-95, 2696-97, 2698-99, 2700-01, 2702-03, 2704-05, 2706-07, 2708-09, 2710-11, 2712-13, 2714-15, 2716-17, 2718-19, 2720-21, 2722-23, 2724-25, 2726-27, 2728-29, 2730-31, 2732-33, 2734-35, 2736-37, 2738-39, 2740-41, 2742-43, 2744-45, 2746-47, 2748-49, 2750-51, 2752-53, 2754-55, 2756-57, 2758-59, 2760-61, 2762-63, 2764-65, 2766-67, 2768-69, 2770-71, 2772-73, 2774-75, 2776-77, 2778-79, 2780-81, 2782-83, 2784-85, 2786-87, 2788-89, 2790-91, 2792-93, 2794-95, 2796-97, 2798-99, 2800-01, 2802-03, 2804-05, 2806-07, 2808-09, 2810-11, 2812-13, 2814-15, 2816-17, 2818-19, 2820-21, 2822-23, 2824-25, 2826-27, 2828-29, 2830-31, 2832-33, 2834-35, 2836-37, 2838-39, 2840-41, 2842-43, 2844-45, 2846-47, 2848-49, 2850-51, 2852-53, 2854-55, 2856-57, 2858-59, 2860-61, 2862-63, 2864-65, 2866-67, 2868-69, 2870-71, 2872-73, 2874-75, 2876-77, 2878-79, 2880-81, 2882-83, 2884-85, 2886-87, 2888-89, 2890-91, 2892-93, 2894-95, 2896-97, 2898-99, 2900-01, 2902-03, 2904-05, 2906-07, 2908-09, 2910-11, 2912-13, 2914-15, 2916-17, 2918-19, 2920-21, 2922-23, 2924-25, 2926-27, 2928-29, 2930-31, 2932-33, 2934-35, 2936-37, 2938-39, 2940-41, 2942-43, 2944-45, 2946-47, 2948-49, 2950-51, 2952-53, 2954-55, 2956-57, 2958-59, 2960-61, 2962-63, 2964-65, 2966-67, 2968-69, 2970-71, 2972-73, 2974-75, 2976-77, 2978-79, 2980-81, 2982-83, 2984-85, 2986-87, 2988-89, 2990-91, 2992-93, 2994-95, 2996-97, 2998-99, 3000-01, 3002-03, 3004-05, 3006-07, 3008-09, 3010-11, 3012-13, 3014-15, 3016-17, 3018-19, 3020-21, 3022-23, 3024-25, 3026-27, 3028-29, 3030-31, 3032-33, 3034-35, 3036-37, 3038-39, 3040-41, 3042-43, 3044-45, 3046-47, 3048-49, 3050-51, 3052-53, 3054-55, 3056-57, 3058-59, 3060-61, 3062-63, 3064-65, 3066-67, 3068-69, 3070-71, 3072-73, 3074-75, 3076-77, 3078-79, 3080-81, 3082-83, 3084-85, 3086-87, 3088-89, 3090-91, 3092-93, 3094-95, 3096-97, 3098-99, 3100-01, 3102-03, 3104-05, 3106-07, 3108-09, 3110-11, 3112-13, 3114-15, 3116-17, 3118-19, 3120-21, 3122-23, 3124-25, 3126-27, 3128-29, 3130-31, 3132-33, 3134-35, 3136-37, 3138-39, 3140-41, 3142-43, 3144-45, 3146-47, 3148-49, 3150-51, 3152-53, 3154-55, 3156-57, 3158-59, 3160-61, 3162-63, 3164-65, 3166-67, 3168-69, 3170-71, 3172-73, 3174-75, 3176-77, 3178-79, 3180-81, 3182-83, 3184-85, 3186-87, 3188-89, 3190-91, 3192-93, 3194-95, 3196-97, 3198-99, 3200-01, 3202-03, 3204-05, 3206-07, 3208-09, 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3432-33, 3434-35, 3436-37, 3438-39, 3440-41, 3442-43, 3444-45, 3446-47, 3448-49, 3450-51, 3452-53, 3454-55, 3456-57, 3458-59, 3460-61, 3462-63, 3464-65, 3466-67, 3468-69, 3470-71, 3472-73, 3474-75, 3476-77, 3478-79, 3480-81, 3482-83, 3484-85, 3486-87, 3488-89, 3490-91, 3492-93, 3494-95, 3496-97, 3498-99, 3500-01, 3502-03, 3504-05, 3506-07, 3508-09, 3510-11, 3512-13, 3514-15, 3516-17, 3518-19, 3520-21, 3522-23, 3524-25, 3526-27, 3528-29, 3530-31, 3532-33, 3534-35, 3536-37, 3538-39, 3540-41, 3542-43, 3544-45, 3546-47, 3548-49, 3550-51, 3552-53, 3554-55, 3556-57, 3558-59, 3560-61, 3562-63, 3564-65, 3566-67, 3568-69, 3570-71, 3572-73, 3574-75, 3576-77, 3578-79, 3580-81, 3582-83, 3584-85, 3586-87, 3588-89, 3590-91, 3592-93, 3594-95, 3596-97, 3598-99, 3600-01, 3602-03, 3604-05, 3606-07, 3608-09, 3610-11, 3612-13, 3614-15, 3616-17, 3618-19, 3620-21, 3622-23, 3624-25, 3626-27, 3628-29, 3630-31, 3632-33, 3634-35, 3636-37, 3638-39, 3640-41, 3642-43, 3644-45, 3646-47, 3648-49, 3650-51, 3652-53, 3654-55, 3656-57, 3658-59, 3660-61, 3662-63, 3664-65, 3666-67, 3668-69, 3670-71, 3672-73, 3674-75, 3676-77, 3678-79, 3680-81, 3682-83, 3684-85, 3686-87, 3688-89, 3690-91, 3692-93, 3694-95, 3696-97, 3698-99, 3700-01, 3702-03, 3704-05, 3706-07, 3708-09, 3710-11, 3712-13, 3714-15, 3716-17, 3718-19, 3720-21, 3722-23, 3724-25, 3726-27, 3728-29, 3730-31, 3732-33, 3734-35, 3736-37, 3738-39, 3740-41, 3742-43, 3744-45, 3746-47, 3748-49, 3750-51, 3752-53, 3754-55, 3756-57, 3758-59, 3760-61, 3762-63, 3764-65, 3766-67, 3768-69, 3770-71, 3772-73, 3774-75, 3776-77, 3778-79, 3780-81, 3782-83, 3784-85, 3786-87, 3788-89, 3790-91, 3792-93, 3794-95, 3796-97, 3798-99, 3800-01, 3802-03, 3804-05, 3806-07, 3808-09, 3810-11, 3812-13, 3814-15, 3816-17, 3818-19, 3820-21, 3822-23, 3824-25, 3826-27, 3828-29, 3830-31, 3832-33, 3834-35, 3836-37, 3838-39, 3840-41, 3842-43, 3844-45, 3846-47, 3848-49, 3850-51, 3852-53, 3854-55, 3856-57, 3858-59, 3860-61, 3862-63, 3864-65, 3866-67, 3868-69, 3870-71, 3872-73, 3874-75, 3876-77, 3878-79, 3880-81, 3882-83, 3884-85, 3886-87, 3888-89, 3890-91, 3892-93, 3894-95, 3896-97, 3898-99, 3900-01, 3902-03, 3904-05, 3906-07, 3908-09, 3910-11, 3912-13, 3914-15, 3916-17, 3918-19, 3920-21, 3922-23, 3924-25, 3926-27, 3928-29, 3930-31, 3932-33, 3934-35, 3936-37, 3938-39, 3940-41, 3942-43, 3944-45, 3946-47, 3948-49, 3950-51, 3952-53, 3954-55, 3956-57, 3958-59, 3960-61, 3962-63, 3964-65, 3966-67, 3968-69, 3970-71, 3972-73, 3974-75, 3976-77, 3978-79, 3980-81, 3982-83, 3984-85, 3986-87, 3988-89, 3990-91, 3992-93, 3994-95, 3996-97, 3998-99, 4000-01, 4002-03, 4004-05, 4006-07, 4008-09, 4010-11, 4012-13, 4014-15, 4016-17, 4018-19, 4020-21, 4022-23, 4024-25, 4026-27, 4028-29, 4030-31, 4032-33, 4034-35, 4036-37, 4038-39, 4040-41, 4042-43, 4044-45, 4046-47, 4048-49, 4050-51, 4052-53, 4054-55, 4056-57, 4058-59, 4060-61, 4062-63, 4064-65, 4066-67, 4068-69, 4070-71, 4072-73, 4074-75, 4076-77, 4078-79, 4080-81, 4082-83, 4084-85, 4086-87, 4088-89, 4090-91, 4092-93, 4094-95, 4096-97, 4098-99, 4100-01, 4102-03, 4104-05, 4106-07, 4108-09, 4110-11, 4112-13, 4114-15, 4116-17, 4118-19, 4120-21, 4122-23, 4124-25, 4126-27, 4128-29, 4130-31, 4132-33, 4134-35, 4136-37, 4138-39, 4140-41, 4142-43, 4144-45, 4146-47, 4148-49, 4150-51, 4152-53, 4154-55, 4156-57, 4158-59, 4160-61, 4162-63, 4164-65, 4166-67, 4168-69, 4170-71, 4172-73, 4174-75, 4176-77, 4178-79, 4180-81, 4182-83, 4184-85, 4186-87, 4188-89, 4190-91, 4192-93, 4194-95, 4196-97, 4198-99, 4200-01, 4202-03, 4204-05, 4206-07, 4208-09, 4210-11, 4212-13, 4214-15, 4216-17, 4218-19, 4220-21, 4222-23, 4224-25, 4226-27, 4228-29, 4230-31, 4232-33, 4234-35, 4236-37, 4238-39, 4240-41, 4242-43, 4244-45, 4246-47, 4248-49, 4250-51, 4252-53, 4254-55, 4256-57, 4258-59, 4260-61, 4262-63, 4264-65, 4266-67, 4268-69, 4270-71, 4272-73, 4274-75, 4276-77, 4278-79, 4280-81, 4282-83, 4284-85, 4286-87, 4288-89, 4290-91, 4292-93, 4294-95, 4296-97, 4298-99, 4300-01, 4302-03, 4304-05, 4306-07, 4308-09, 4310-11, 4312-13, 4314-15, 4316-17, 4318-19, 4320-21, 4322-23, 4324-25, 4326-27, 4328-29, 4330-31, 4332-33, 4334-35, 4336-37, 4338-39, 4340-41, 4342-43, 434

262 sea food formed a considerable element in the diet in the Coastal area. Most of the food supply was derived from cultivated plants. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards, all the Araucanians (except perhaps the *Pekenucke*; cf. infra) from the Choapa to Chiloé inclusive were sedentary farmers. That Araucanian agriculture as such antedated the Inca invasion of the second half of the 15th century is reasonably certain, since south of the Maule River Inca influence could hardly have given rise in so short a time to such a high development of agriculture as the first Spaniards found as far south as Chiloé.

241 Agriculture.—The following food plants were being cultivated by the *Mepuche-Huilliche* at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards: (1) Maize, wa, *Zea mays*; 8 or 9 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 375); cultivated on Chiloé as well as mainland. (2) White potato, *potu*, *pufe*, *Solanum tuberosum*; over 30 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 377; cf. Bukacev, 1933, p. 163, many varieties, especially on Chiloé); more than a hundred native names of "varieties" grown on Chiloé (Lenz, 1904-10, 2:559-61). (3) Kidney bean, *deñill*, *deñill*, *Phaseolus vulgaris*; 13 or 14 kinds, according to Molina (*ibid.*, p. 376). (4) Squash, *peyka*, *wada*, *Cucurbita maxima* (and *C. pepo*?) (5) Madi, *Madia sativa*; a seed-crop; an oil derived from seeds. (6) Chili pepper, *trapi*, *thapi*, *Oxycarpus esayum*; many varieties cultivated. (7) Quinoa, *dawa*, *Chenopodium quinoa*; a seed-crop; leaves also eaten (Molina, 1878 b, p. 376). (8) Oca, *Oxalis* sp.; root-crop cultivated earlier in Chiloé and Llanquihue; two varieties cultivated, according to Latham (1915 b, pp. 149, 154). (9) Magu, *maço*, *mango*, *Bromus mango*; a seed-crop resembling our rye; bread made from grain. (10) Teca, *tuca*, *thuca*, not identified botanically; superficially resembling our barley; bread made of grain. (11) Peanut, *manf* (from *Arawak*; no native Araucanian name), *Arachis hypogaea*; thought by Lenz (1904-10, 2:475) to have been introduced by the Incas; by Latham (1936, p. 192), in post-Contact times. (12) Strawberry, *kellu*, *llawu*, *Fragaria chilensis*; both cultivated and wild used. (13) Huequen, *huequen*, not identified botanically; a seed-crop, superficially resembling our barley.

Of the foregoing, maize was the most important food staple among the *Mepuche*, but among the mainland *Huilliche* potatoes were apparently of near equal importance with maize, and among the Chilote of much greater importance. This relative importance seems to have persisted down to the present. Potatoes were recently the chief food of the poorer Indians in the Rio Imperial area (Oeda, in Mosebach, 1936, p. 99).

Teca, huequen, and oca are no longer cultivated; the cultivation of teca had been abandoned as early as Molina's time in the middle 18th century. The last specimen of magu was collected in 1837 in south Chiloé. Quinoa was reported under cultivation in Chiloé as

late as 1875; on the mainland well into the present century in small quantities (Bullock, 1911, p. 28). 241

There is no report of maize or tomatoes being cultivated by any of the *Araucanians*. The sweet potato was cultivated a little in the northern *Pisac* region, from Quillota north, but not by any of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, so far as our records go.

Cultivation in open glades or with clearing through burning (Bullock, 1911, pp. 32-33) was the prevalent system. Generally, land was left fallow 1 to 3 or more years after one season's planting (Bullock, 1911, pp. 31-32; Latham, 1928, pp. 293-93). Garden plots were sometimes fenced (Guicusa, 1832, p. 91), more often unfenced. Beans were often planted in the same field with maize, the maize stalks serving as bean poles. Irrigation was used north of the Rio Rapel, but there is no documentary or archeological evidence of its use south thereof (Latham, 1928 a, p. 129), where rainfall was greater and more evenly distributed the year round. No terracing was done south of the Choapa (Latham, 1928 a, p. 135). Manuring was apparently not practiced. 242

The chief gardening implements used to break ground and to loosen and lift the clods were: an ear- or shovel-shaped implement of wood; a wooden three-pronged or tridentlike "pitchfork," sometimes with a perforated stone at the upper end of the handle to weight it (Bancroft, 1863, p. 182); a pole (used in pairs in Chile) pointed at one end and rounded at the other, the worker leaning his body weight at chest or stomach on the rounded end. For making holes to sow maize, beans, and potatoes and for digging out potatoes, a pointed wooden implement served as dibble and digging stick. 241

By far the greater part of the gardening labor fell to the women. They did the sowing and weeding. The more strenuous work involved in first breaking ground was done by the men.

Planting and harvesting were done on the communal or *mingun* system, at least for maize. A man who wished to break ground and plant maize, invited the members of his community or paraded, men and women, to come with their implements, on a given day. The men would break the ground, the women following behind them, making holes with their dibles, putting three or four kernels of maize in each hole, and treading down the earth over the hole. The planting over, all repaired to the man's house for an abundant meal with plenty of chicha (Montalvo, 1928, pp. 129-42). A similar procedure—invitation, communal labor, food and drink—was followed in harvesting and threshing wheat, and seemingly in other harvesting. The threshing of the wheat was done by men and women tramping the ears in a quasi-dance and at the same time singing to the music of trumpet, flute, and drum. In more recent times threshing with use of horses came in. 243 476

Middle Ohio forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, 224
not easily pursued.

The chief large animals hunted for food were the grouse (*Larus* [136]
gambelii), the brown or green (*Myiophobus lineatus*), and the quail
(*Spizella socialis*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the thrasher
(*Spizella socialis*), the towhee (*Parus carolinensis*), juncos,
doves, shrikes, geese, swans, and others. [225]

The quail (*Spizella socialis*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal
came to the trap, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also
used in hunting porcupine (*Erethizon* de Miquel, 1888, pp. 22, 23).
The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow
(cf. *Indian War* for description) and the sling. Later, in the
19th century, the two-handed knife was introduced as a hunting weapon.
It was in fact recorded in 1880; the knife was apparently about
1880 (McClure, 1880, pp. 45-46).

Some (French, 1880) of several kinds was employed for trapping
birds, but no details or construction are given in the early literature.
Ohio describes a multiple snare or better snare (*Aracanthaceae*); the
snare of horizontal hair was suspended from a horizontal line which
was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (McClure,
1880, pp. 22-23). Chigaco, spring pole and trap-pole were
also used, particularly for birds, and trapping was not
confined to any species, so far as the present writer can discover, and
was apparently lasting.

Traditional animals—The traditional animals kept by the 221
Aracanthaceae were the dog and the horse. The quail pig was
common in Ohio (Ohio, 1880, 1881; French, 1880, p. 21; Miller,
1880, p. 22-23; Lane, 1880-81, 1881), but whether among the
Aracanthaceae in particular is not clear. Neither horse nor pig
were kept. Trained quail was common in the north of the
Ohio.

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long
hair, the *Indian*; and a medium-sized long-legged one with short
hair, the *Aracanthaceae* (French, 1880, p. 22-23). The dog was used in
hunting.

The horse (*Equus caballus*, *Larus gambelii*) was reported from
the earliest days of the Aracanthaceae as far south as the present region
where the ordinary Indian pursued a to a hunt and the quail
to a to a (French, 1880, p. 22). With the introduction of other
and dogs, where horse hunting declined. Some horses were still
kept toward the end of the 19th century among the Aracanthaceae (French,
1880, p. 22), but no one is longer kept. The horse was used chiefly
for the work and as a pack animal. It also served as a means of
transport in the Aracanthaceae, and a quail was in evidence. In
1880, p. 22.

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic Mapuche-Shallide culture (McChaffery, 1932, p. 44).

Domestic cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Indian knowledge for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 437) for the second third of the 16th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the medieval Mapuche-Shallide living on or near the Coast, while among the Chiriguano they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), sea bass (*Paralichthys* sp.), perches (*Sparus* sp.), siluriforms (*Asteromus* sp.), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: the oysters (*Streptomytilus* sp.), crustaceans (*Angu* sp. and *Penaeus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidoma* sp., *Tellina* sp., *Urosalpinx*, and others). *Limulus* or sea-scorpion (*Phoca*) was caught also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of sheep (Sheepskin), and, later, of hemp; pines and baskets, baited and put under water (Garcera Siles, 1911, p. 130); lines of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); bark (of shrub, tree, or weed) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; darts with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Garcera, 1878, p. 166). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drosera rotundifolia* (Pichón, 1932, c. v. *Chiloé*; Brown, 1930, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food was stored in tall cones, on elevated platforms, and in bins under potatoes, in bins with the fruit.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Meat was prepared in many ways. Game meat was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot ashes, or it was dried, smoked, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with mortar and two-handled cylindrical muller (Crosby, 1909, 12: 130; Claudio Jaimes, 1931, pp. 30-41). Two kinds of flour were made: *yuca*, or *yuca*, and *yuca*, or *yuca*. From the first was made a bread, *yuca*, in the form of flat cakes, or *yuca*, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of *yuca* bread was made from a bit of the grain stored by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Crosby, 1909, p. 30 [post-Columbian?]). The *yuca* bread (or *yuca*) in cold water was regularly taken on rising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of *yuca*, *yuca*, *yuca*, and *yuca*. (All eggs under Wild Plant Foods, p. 70.)

Meat was prepared lightly cooked. Some was eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and smoked or smoked in water shells, or *yuca* meat.

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[017] Flax, alfalfa, and salt were used as feedstuffs. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Arabian salt deposits. When salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plants eaten were salted. The oil made from small seeds was much used in cooking. Wild dyes and wild roots were also used as seasoning (Larssen, 1938, p. 261).

262 A great number of different fishes were made. Some or large were the most common, e.g., trout and salmon, mackerel and pompano, bass and grouper, etc. A favorite dish was made of pompano sliced to cut a couple of inches in longest water. Another favorite was cod, pickled large of an animal or slaughtered then they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten uncooked.

264 Feeding—Food was broken in the morning with the mallet (or stone) from which mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Rasmussen, 1937, p. 262), but not all. (C. H. Marguer, 1938, p. 261.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or birch bark were used at meals. Groups sat around a table. The poorest plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There was no table; the *Alupaka-Mallik* are sitting on the ground.

265 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise his custom for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a feast, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rasmussen, 1937-38, 1:125, 126).

ENTERTAINMENT AND FEASTING

266 Entertainments—The *Alupaka-Mallik* lived, not in village groups, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three or eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households, or settlements were set up within sight of but at appreciable distance from one another—the fact, it was reported earlier, of widespread (Rasmussen, 1937-38, 1:126-27) or of growing (Goulden de Vries, 1938, p. 45) rural settlements or town clusters of households was supported by numerous greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Commonly speaking, each settlement was made up of five (Marguer, 1938, p. 261) and had its own temple. Some of the town settlements or dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade (Rasmussen, 1938, p. 4; Goulden de Vries, 1938, p. 45; Tellechea, 1938, p. 21).

267 [022] Feeding—Food was broken in the morning with the mallet (or stone) from which mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Rasmussen, 1937, p. 262), but not all. (C. H. Marguer, 1938, p. 261.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or birch bark were used at meals. Groups sat around a table. The poorest plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more recent. There was no table; the *Alupaka-Mallik* are sitting on the ground.

Drillings.—Very often large (wide, wide) (pl. 100, below) were found in evidence; they usually or uniformly appear to be of great size (about 10 ft. in length), and as they would be kept in the ground, they usually, drillings were substantially built of timber or wood (usually, oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and with ends not reaching nearly or quite to the ground level) (Fig. 10). Dimensions varied, from 10 to 20 feet (3 to 4 m.) long by 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4 m.) wide, to 20 feet (3 m.) long by 20 feet (3 m.) wide, occasionally even larger. A surface drilling observed by Smith (1902, p. 20) was estimated to be as large (10 feet (3 m.) long by 20 feet (3 m.) wide, with the ridge pole about 10 feet (3 m.) above ground. Martin de Lencastre's figure (1902, p. 126), 40 to 50 feet (12 to 15 m.) square, for drillings in China, appear too high, even though he explicitly states that he measured them several times.

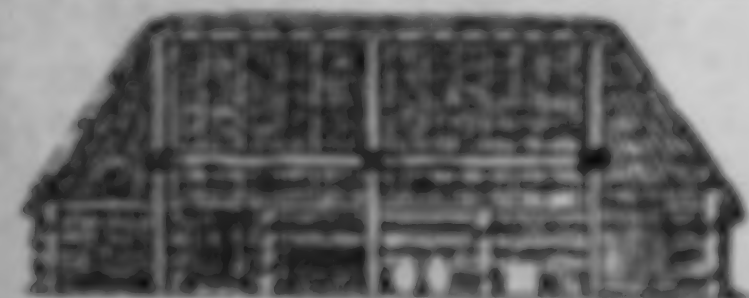


Figure 10.—Sketch of cross section of the center of a Chinese drilling, as seen. (After Smith, 1902, p. 20.)

Several Imperial, Peking & Canton (1902, p. 20, in Chin. 1902-03, 1903) in 1902 found well-built drillings of large plan, many of them built from very big, with from 10 to 15 and 15 to 20 feet (3 to 4 m.) long, with great walls, sometimes to 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4 m.) high, along the Pacific of the Chinese empire (Crawford & Spence, 1902, pp. 11-12). Very large drillings, with from 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4 m.) long, were also reported in 1902 to the Chinese (Chin. 1902, p. 20). In a single large one (sometimes oval, according to Chin. 1902, 1903), as large as 20 to 25 feet (6 to 7 m.) long, 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4 m.) wide, and 10 to 15 feet (3 to 4 m.) high, was found in 1902.

Many large, however, as found in Chinese sources, but only one or two are mentioned. These and others were found, in spring or opening in the center of the field, or in the middle of the field.

A small round drilling was also found. In addition, mention is made of a small drilling, as a temporary shelter against rain and for use by working the fields and working them with the large beams of timber (Chinese sources).

243 The nature of the language has been carefully studied and compared with the nature of the natural world and with the nature of the human mind. The language is not a mere collection of words and sentences, but a system of symbols which can be used to express the most complex and subtle of human experiences.

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249 The language is not a mere collection of words and sentences, but a system of symbols which can be used to express the most complex and subtle of human experiences. The language is not a mere collection of words and sentences, but a system of symbols which can be used to express the most complex and subtle of human experiences.

We can, nevertheless, trace back the shipe among the Argentine *Archaicos* and *Mapuche-Mallinche* to the first half of the 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1825-47, 4:120; Smith, 1839, p. 124), the *Mapuche* and still to the second half of the 19th (Molina, 1901, p. 142), the *Mapuche*, the *Mapuche* proper, to the mid-17th. (Mauger, 1943, pp. 150-55, woodcut, p. 154; cf. Orellana, 1599, 12:160; Bouveret, 1937,

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FIGURE 12.—Chilean woodcut illustration of a *Mapuche* (Anatomist). (After Mauger, 1943, p. 154.)

p. 56.) The *Mapuche* resembles in many respects the woman's garment described and figured by Mauger (*ibid.*). It is in Mauger (*ibid.*), too, that we get our earliest unmistakable record, not only in Chile but in South America, of the true *Mapuche* (Fig. 72). Marshall (1939: 199, pp. 199-204) has presented strong evidence for his theory that the true *Mapuche* is distinct from the widely distributed Andean derivative shipe, was a *Mapuche-Mallinche* invention, and has suggested that

291 it was probably a modification of the sleeveless shirt to permit greater freedom of action on horseback.

As described by Mariño de Lobera (1865, p. 230), the early *Huilliche* men of the Ancud region wore breeches, shirt, and cape, all of [llama] wool. The shirt, like the *Mapuche* type described by Góngora Marmolejo (1862, p. 2) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 39) as "without sleeves," was presumably the typical Andean rectangular sleeveless shirt. González de Nájera's description (*ibid.*) of the short breeches as a "pafío revuelto" serving as a "pafete" and reaching to the mid thigh is somewhat suggestive of the later *chiripa*. According to Marcgrav (*loc. cit.*), the breeches reached to the knee. According to Brouwer (1892, p. 60), the early *Chilotans* wore breeches that flared at the bottom like a sailor's, and a mantle, but no shirt or coat.

Mapuche-Huilliche garments were mostly of woven llama wool. The *pánu*, a small apronlike, leather pubic covering, was used by hockey-players and transvestites (Bascuñan, 1863, pp. 61, 107).

The *Huilliche* of the Ancud region were wearing pointed woolen caps or hoods when first encountered by the Spaniards (Mariño de Lobera, 1865, p. 230; Ercilla, canto 36, 1910, p. 579). Elsewhere, however, as a general rule, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* went without hats. Both men and women used a woven woolen fillet (*tari longo*, *trari-loeko*) to bind the hair, *caciques* often using a silver band in place of it. Warriors frequently wore animal or bird heads or skins on the head. The cotton, silk, or woolen square worn like a turban, and the woman's beaded headgear, are not reported earlier than the 19th century.

The earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* ordinarily went barefoot. In the mid-17th century, low footgear ("caligae") were being used by men on festival occasions (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 233). By the second half of the 18th century, natives of rank were using woolen boots and leather sandals (Molina, 1901, p. 148), which later became more common. The *zumel* (*shumel*), or "bota de potro," made of the hide from the leg of horse or cattle, softened and allowed to dry on the foot, was introduced, apparently from the Argentine Pampa, in the first half of the 19th century (de la Cruz, 1836, p. 33; Smith, 1855, pp. 323-324). It was used as a riding boot, the point of the boot being left open to allow the rider to grip the stirrup with his big toe. The *tamango*, pieces of sheepskin or cowhide with the hair side in, lashed on the feet and legs for crossing the Andean passes in the snow, was used, apparently by Indians, at least at the Uspallata Pass in *Picanele* country (Lanz, 1904-10, 2:704, 899; on the earlier *Petawacke* snowshoes, see *infra*, section on "*Petawacke*," p. 760).

302 Hair.—References in the early sources to coiffure are scattered and vague. Brouwer (1892, p. 60) found the mainland *Huilliche* men with their hair cut short around the ears. (See also Góngora Marmolejo, 1862, p. 2, and Marcgrav's woodcut, 1648, p. 284.) Since at least the

early 17th century, the men let their hair grow in long loose locks to the shoulders, sometimes doubling it upward and rolling it round the head, and cutting it in a fringe across the forehead. On going to war, the head was shaved, leaving only a corona like a friar's (Marín de Lobera, 1665, p. 122). It was considered a great indignity to have one's hair cut off by force (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

All accounts since the late 18th century describe the women's hair as done up in two long braids (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136, and others thereafter). Molina says "varias trenzas" (1901, p. 148). Ovalle (1833, 12:161) and González de Nájera (1889, p. 47) refer to tresses or braids, but not clearly to two only. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 283, cf. also woodcut, p. 284), the women wore their hair loose, but bound it up during menses. Some Chilotan women of the Castro region wore it bound with small woven bands; others, loose and hanging over the shoulders (Brouwer, 1892, p. 60). A woman with short hair might add to her own the hair cut from a young girl's head (Félix José, 1916, 1:287).

The comb (*ruña*) used was commonly the brush-comb, made of a bunch of reeds or thick grass sticks well tied together.

Depilation of facial (including eyebrows) and pubic hair by men and women with the use of two shell valves or of two trapezoidal metal plates serving as tweezers was customary, in fact, de rigueur. (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 283; Rosales, 1877-78, 1:167; Havestadt, 1883, 2:806-7; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50, 52.)

Body ornamentation.—No mutilations in the way of head deformation or piercing of lips or septum are reported. Ear lobes were pierced for earrings. Tattooing was completely absent. There does not appear to have been much face or body painting in early times. González de Nájera (1889, p. 46) reports it absent, but this is seemingly too sweeping (L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. *collé*; cf. Medina, 1882, p. 170). At any rate, more recently face painting was not uncommon (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 15).

Body adornments.—By the men, some use was made of feathers in peace time, or by warriors for hair- and helmet-adornments (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 439, 445), but in general feathers played a minor role in *Mapuche-Huilliche* body decoration. In the main, too, except for the *Pebuenche*, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men devoted their attention to decorating their saddle gear rather than themselves. Headmen formerly wore large silver earrings.

Women's chief adornments in earlier times were necklaces of *lancas* (*haska*), *tupa pina*, bracelets, and ear pendants. The *lancas* were green or bluish-green stones, mostly malachite and azurite, perforated and polished. Beads of sea shells were also used, but were not nearly so highly esteemed as the *lancas*. The *tupa* (from Quechua) was a long metal pin with a large discoid, semicircular or spherical head used

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- 301 To fasten the skull. Glass beads, *chaquiras*, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal *llancas*. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (*chapell*, *upell*) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moebach, 1936, pp. 213-14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass *chaquiras* (beads) for the native *llancas*, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

- 481 Land transportation.—There were no roads such as were common in *Inca* territory, but only trails. Bridges (*kuikui*) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. 482 The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. 492 After the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapeuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. *supra* under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

- 501 Water transportation.—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapeuche-Huilliche*: the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

[288]
[P-28] Plank boats (*dalca*, *piragua*) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Coronados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1858 (Goicoste, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chiloteans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Ota, canto 10, 1917, p. 349, mouth of the Bio-Bio River). The planks were lashed together with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of *tiaca* (*Caldeuaria paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of *maqui* (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the *dalca* was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (*Olivares*, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüero, 1791,

p. 66; Cooper, 1917, pp. 198-99; cf. Lothrop, 1932, pl. 21, a-d, and 501
fig. 8, with details of construction of 7-plank dalia.)

Dugouts (huampo, wampo (L. de Valdivia, 1887, huampo), canoa) were according to Rosales (1877-78, 1:174) usually small, with a crew of three men; the largest he had ever seen was one in Toltén with a carrying capacity of 30 persons. Of a crew of three, one man seated at the stern steered with a paddle, the other two paddled standing. Such dugouts were early reported from the Imperial (Bascutan, 1863, p. 89) region. (Cf. illustration from Gay, in Lothrop, 1932, pl. 18, b.)

Balsa of cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui, and of new-moon shape, pointed at both ends, were in use on the mainland around the Imperial River, Toltén River, and elsewhere, and on the islands of Santa María and Mocha.

Other "balsa," apparently rafts proper, made of Pupa sp. or of "cypress" (*Libocedrus chilensis*) or "laurel" (*Laurus arcanica*), all very light and buoyant, were also used on the Island of Santa María and on the mainland. The watercraft of inflated sealskins, of the north-central Chilean Coast, has not been reported from the Mapuche-Huilliche region.

Boats are reported as early as the middle 17th century, by Rosales (1877-78, 1:175), with the dugout when the wind was favorable, but it is uncertain whether they were used in pre-Spanish days (Friderici, 1907, p. 74). Details on type or types of paddles or oars used with early Mapuche-Huilliche watercraft are lacking. Lothrop (1932, p. 245, pl. 21, b) describes and figures a [European type] two-place car with crutchless rounded shaft and flat square-ended blade, used with a Chilotean plank boat. Double-bladed paddles have been reported occasionally (Loomer, 1934). [177]

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Various kinds of basketry containers were woven from 285
plant fibers. Some of those more commonly recorded are: The lepa, made of Chusquea, of very fine weave; the chairo, made of voqui (*Boquila trifoliata*), small, serving as a filter for chicha or as a sieve or colander; the lepa (fig. 74, left), of Chusquea, of flat round platter form; the kálla (fig. 74, right), of *Lapageria rosea*, a large basket; the yula, of bejuco. (For techniques and types, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 341-344.)

Cordage.—Various plant fibers, particularly from tocha (*Grigia 283
landbeckii*) or malkacha (*Oyopus repens*), were used in the making of rope, cord, fish nets and lines, carrying bags (pilua), and baskets (figs. 75, 76). (For details, cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 344-346.)

Spinning and weaving.—Weaving with llama wool was well de- 286
veloped at the time of the Contact. Sheep wool was later substi-

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. E. 1911, 1912]

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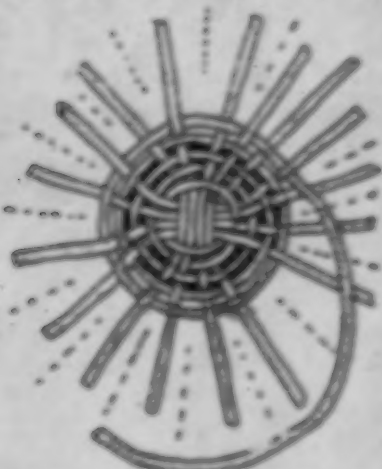


FIGURE 71.—Araucanian basketry techniques. Left: Lapa basketry tray. Right: Kaka basket. (After Claude Joupé, 1911, pp. 26, 28, 3.)

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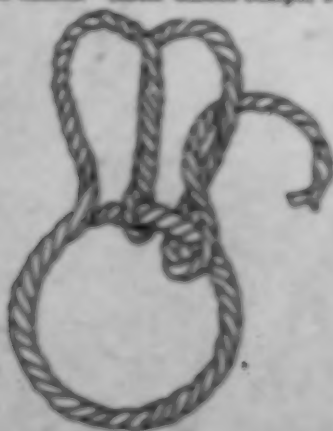


FIGURE 72.—An Araucanian jibia carrying knot. Top: The knot. Bottom: The bag carrier knot. (After Claude Joupé, 1911, pp. 64.)

twined. Dog-hair weaving was early reported (Goicoste, 1852, p. 96) among the Chono, but not among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. The Chiloteans made mantles from the bark of *Aristotelia magui*, woven in some manner (Humboldt, 1877-78, 1:224). Cotton weaving was absent. Spinning and weaving were women's work.

Wool, after being sheared, washed, dried, and combed, was spun on a wooden spindle, pointed at both ends. The wool was wound



FIGURE 18.—*Chilo* carrying bag. Detail of the side-wall of the bag. (After Charles Joseph, 1921, fig. 65.)

round the left arm, its end twisted with the thumb and index finger of the right hand and fastened to the spindle, and the spindle was also twisted with the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

For weaving (fig. 77; pl. 166, top, right) a two-barred loom (vertical) was used, usually vertical for larger pieces of cloth, but stretched on the ground horizontally for belts and fillets. Molina (1901, p. 122) mentions a second kind of loom, "not very unlike that used in Europe," but gives no other details.

The woven products were used mainly as clothing and adornment, but also as saddle-blankets. Some of the products

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[R. A. N. Dec. 192]

some of the products

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were of uniform color; others were in varicolored stripes, or with geometrical designs of crosses, squares, triangles, etc., or sometimes with conventionalized human figures. Flower, bird, and animal figures were apparently very modern developments. (For details on

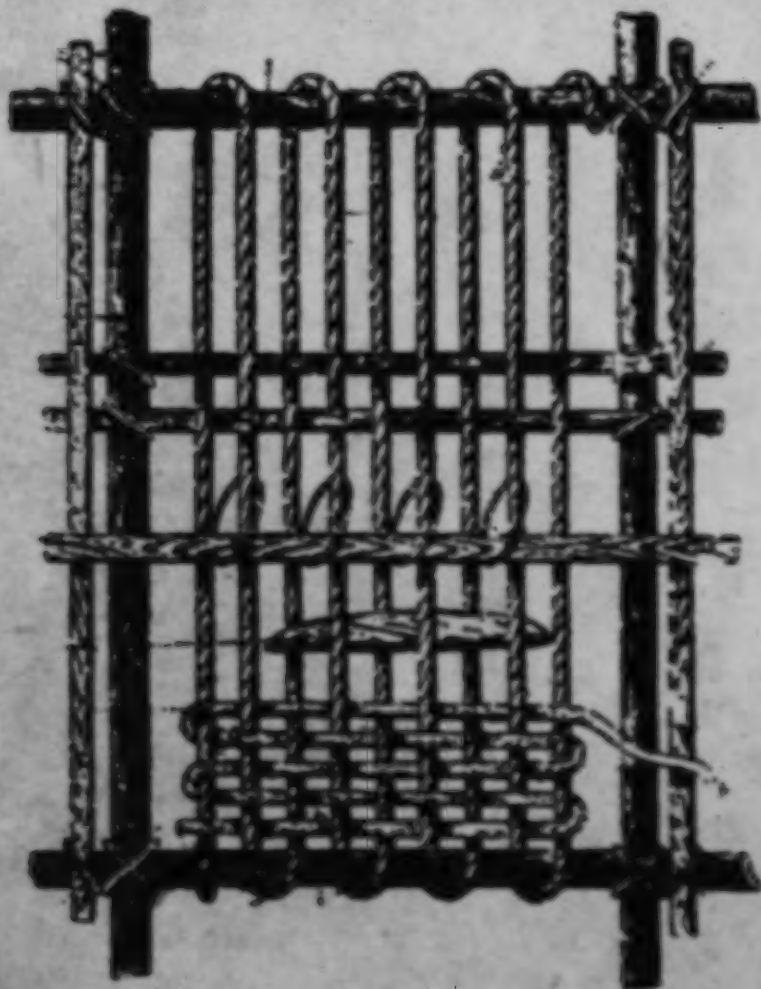


FIGURE 77.—Mayan loom. (After Claude Jomph, 1928 a, p. 908.)

techniques of weaving and on woven products, cf. Claude Jomph, 1928 a; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:262-71; Mosbach, 1928, pp. 218-20; Lauer, 1927, pp. 8-9; for illustrations, Oyarsin and Leitch, 1926.) Needles were made of thorns, wood, and bone.

[42]

Dyeing.—Dyes of many colors, the majority of them derived from plants but some from earths, were used to tint the wool. Mineral substances were used to dye wool black, red, yellow, and white; plants, for black, blue, green, red, yellow, coffee, and violet. (Cf. list of plant dyes in Lothrop, 1930, pp. 233-35.) Indigo was obtained by barker. Wool in natural coffee color and grays was also used. 286
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[437]

A technique of tie-dyeing of the white warp, before the weft is woven, with ties of string and maki bark is described in detail by Felipe Reyes (in Guerrero Silva, 1913, pp. 176-77; cf. Leacham, 1909, p. 339; Lothrop, 1930, p. 238; Millán, 1934, 1:220-22); a technique of combination tie- and resist-dyeing of the white warp, with the use of a white clayey earth paste as a resist, by Claude Joseph (1928 a, pp. 1020-1031).

Skin dressing.—The skins of various wild and domesticated animals, such as the puma, guanaco, wildcat, oryx, fox, deer, otter, sheep, horse, cattle, and dogs, were used as rugs, beds, saddles, straps, etc. If dressed with the hair on, the skin was stretched out, pegged on the ground. When dried, it was softened with the hands and by drawing to and fro in the notch of a forked stick hung to a post. Straps and thongs were rubbed with grease to keep them supple. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked in wood ashes and water, then scraped with sharp stones, shells, or knives, until the roots of the hair were loosened. Then the hair was plucked out, and the skin dressed as above (Leacham, 1909, p. 339). According to Félix José (1916, 2:95), salt was put on skins to prevent rotting, they were softened by hand, and were then anointed with grease. 281

Pottery.—Pottery has been made and widely used by the Mapuche-Huilliche since pre-Hispanic times. Their country is rich in suitable clays. Pottery making was the woman's task. Tempering was done with fine sand or pulverized rock or shell; shaping, by the coiling method (pl. 184, left); smoothing, with a spatula, usually spoon-shaped. The kilns were pits dug in the ground or on hillside, or firing was done inside the dwelling. Vessels of many kinds were made (pl. 184, right): Cooking pots, large jars with rounded or flat bases and without handles for carrying water or holding chicha, single- and double-bellied pitchers with one or two handles, the *littera matorre* (an effigy pitcher crudely resembling a steamer dock), plates, dishes, etc. Some of these types are seemingly of rather recent introduction. A common pitcher type early depicted (Mauger, 1648, II, p. 204) and occurring archaeologically (Medina, 1932, Figs. 134, 204-07) has a globular body, rather narrow neck, and a single handle. In general, the pottery of the Mapuche-Huilliche and archaeological specimens from their area are distinctly inferior in workmanship and decoration to the pottery of the historic and prehistoric cultures to the north and west and northwest of the Araucanian region. Except for some geometric 323
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323 Except for some geometric designs on some of the archaeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier Mapuche-Huelliche pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on technique and types, cf.: Latcham, 1939 b, pp. 47-48, 180-219; Cuervara Silva, 1939, 2:247-42; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43-48.)

324 Stoneworking.—The early Mapuche-Huelliche made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone ones, such as clubs and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 Mining and metallurgy.—Some use was made by the Mapuche-Huelliche in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chronicles (e.g., Krull, 1910, p. xix; Mariño de Lobera, 1645, pp. 112, 120; González de Nájera, 1655, pp. 45-47; Basualto, 1862, p. 201; Rosales, 1877-78, 1:100). Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the Araucanians apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadores. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McChafferty, 1932, pp. 30-40).

326 Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century Mapuche-Huelliche, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Pöppig's *Pehuénche* of the Antium region (1825-32, p. 396) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the Araucanian-influenced *Tahuénche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other Araucanian elements (Cooper, 1933, p. 408). In modern Mapuche-Huelliche silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver mine. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 48), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing technique and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1930 b; Cuervara Silva, 1939, 2:274-81.)

372 Fire making and flint-knapping.—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The leucht (stone, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the feet; the drill (weitere, "man"), twisted with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by sticking two stones together is that by Ota (note 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talagante region, near the Mapuche-Pehuénche borderline, and the account given by this somewhat-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

one made, was preserved a couple of days or more by lighting a piece of dry trunk of diagal (Paga maitai) at one point and letting it smolder (González de Hájera, 1933, p. 38). Lighted bundles of Chaparrin were used as torches (ibid.).

Manufactures and utensils.—Cups were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and dishes; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, Inlet's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (maki), and many other objects (cf. Claude Jough, 1931, pp. 339-41); an shell was earlier used for scraping wood (González de Hájera, 1933, p. 37). Axes were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel knife came into use later (Claude Jough, 1931, p. 335, fig. 32). Sacks (paka) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide, small bags of skin (yapa) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for further details, Claude Jough, 1931; other articles have been cited previously in preceding sections of the present paper, e. g., see also later under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Aspiration of status.—Several general statements such as Miller's (1931, p. 180), that "In marriage they scrupulously avoid the degree of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on Ilipe-cho-Mallike local prohibitions. According to Gervase Hine (1933, p. 139, 2:137), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and siblings of brothers. Exceptions are relations are reported to have occurred at times in the course of drinking sprees. Customary cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred, but marriage was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter *haka* (mother) while she called him *paka* ("son," etc.); if he did not marry her, he called her *haka* and they live by drinking terms. A native saying reminding the cross-cousin prohibition was: "In time will not be any doubt, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Cobb, in Hine, 1933, p. 137). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Miller (1931, p. 48) by Collis Hildreth is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. General polygamy was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Gervase Hine, 1933, p. 45). Under certain conditions (cf. ibid.) widow was in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the wife's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dance and singing. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or other relative

574 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of fumes, mantles, shirts, adornments (beads), food, cloth, and, less, chickens, cattle, horses, beads, spun, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other older relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of drink.

575 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on his back to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 2 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from dramatized capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriage with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1950-51, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling at all to live with her abductor (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Miksch, 1939, p. 241). Some depictions, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or depictions, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1882, 2:628).

576 The wedding rites and ceremonies consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a fume or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal drinking of drinks or

other alcoholic beverages. The feasting would last until all the children were gone, even 4 to 6 days. 585

The family.—No polyandry is reported for early or recent times. Polygyny was prevalent. Commoners had 1 or 2 wives; wealthy and other prominent men had more—4 to 6 to 10, with occasional cases of 18 (Marido de Levea, 1861, p. 134), 20 (Bancroft, 1893, p. 452; Brouwer, 1902, p. 81), or even 20 (Sora, 1921, 28:e2; 29:180). 595

One wife, ordinarily the first one married, was head wife, with a certain precedence and authority over the others. Each wife commonly had her own apartment and hearth in her husband's dwelling, or, according to Majugrav (1846, p. 281), if the husband were wealthy her own separate hut, and, according to Osta (in Mosbach, 1910, p. 192), her own garden plot, the products of which were hers. In the polygynous households, wives shared their husband's bed by turns, a night to a week or more each.

So far as can be gathered from the meager and often conflicting accounts of earlier and more recent writers, the wives' position was in theory one of marked inferiority and subservience to the husband; in actuality, however, while some harsh treatment is recorded, more generally wives appear to have been treated with a certain consideration and to have enjoyed appreciable freedom. 562

If a wife were badly mistreated, she could go back to her people who would then have to return the bride-price or its equivalent to her husband. Divorce was common and apparently rather easy. Sterility, infidelity, desertion, and ill-treatment are mentioned more commonly as the grounds therefor. In all cases, the bride-price had to be given back to the husband. A childless wife could be sent back to her father. If a woman deserted her husband to marry another man, the latter had to pay the husband the equivalent of the bride-price the husband had paid for her. 582

An adulterous wife could by customary law be put to death by the husband, together with her paramour, or else she was sent back to her father. But if the paramour were killed by the offended husband, the latter was liable to blood-revenge from the killed man's relatives; if the guilty wife were killed, her husband could not claim the return of the bride-price. More commonly, wifely adultery was compounded through large payments by the paramour to the husband. Actually, adultery on the part of wives seems to have been rare (Bancroft, 1893, p. 322; Koslos, 1877-78, 1:100). When a wife returned to her parents, she usually took with her her small children. 684 628

If a man's wife died, even through no fault of his, he had to make payments of *lanas* (beads) or other valuables to her people; if through his fault, higher payments. 768

A widow with small children commonly returned with them to her

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THE AMERICAN WAY

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The American way of life is a way of life that is based on the principles of freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. It is a way of life that is based on the principles of individualism, capitalism, and the free market. It is a way of life that is based on the principles of progress, innovation, and the pursuit of happiness.

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679 In our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latham, 1933 I,
 680 p. 261), no one was subject to any other one; according to Morúa
 681 de Lavra (1934, p. 147), the heads of the *machillas* were subject to
 682 the head of the unit which the *machillas* constituted. Given the
 general democratic decentralized pattern of Argentine *machilla* poli-
 tical life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjectness" of
 smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed
 must have been due to purely tactical.

683 Each small "forming community" of those to serve or train here
 (cf. *cuapa* under *hacienderos*) had its own headman, a ruler or elder
 man or a descendant of such. (González, 1944, p. 311; cf. Morúa
 de Lavra, 1934, pp. 138, 141.) Luis de Valdivia (1937, a, c.) defined
cuapa (*cuapa*) not only as a *hacienda* and as the name thereof, but also
 as "la cabeza de personas, el que es como *cuapa*, o jefe principal."
 Ríos (1937-38, 1:137) states that the "*cuapa*," who with the
 "capitanes" are the only possessors of dignity, were "los señores de las
 familias y *cuapas*, de modo que no tiene un *cuapa* que le sujeta
 más de los de su *cuapa*." How and where these headmen of forming
 communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the
 political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The
 facts we have seen best explained on the provisional hypothesis that
 the small forming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communi-
 ties, constituting *machillas* and units respectively, were exclusively
 or predominantly made up of closely related kin.

684 In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the
 685 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and
 authority seemed to concentrate headmen of the different units, and
 the earlier executive primitive political structure assumed somewhat
 greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchicalization. But the basic democratic
 forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organiza-
 tion, see *hata* under *Warfare*.)

686 Law and legal procedure.—The chief crime recognized was abduc-
 687 tion and withholding, murder, theft, homicidal assault, and treason.
 688 The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender, in earlier times,
 689 headmen and other *cuapas* had little or no authority to try cases or
 690 to pronounce judgment. Abduction, murder, and assault were
 691 punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but,
 more commonly, in cases of abduction and murder, compensation was
 exacted as, with payment of strings of beads, 10 such strings for one
 death. Marguer (1944, p. 267) states that the sentence was based
 also—as it also was in the Argentine *Argentinians* by Richard (1939, p. 64). Cf. similar (Belgian) treatment of *cuapas*,
 and Molina, 1931, p. 124, on terms of sentence to force resolution
 of *cuapas*. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf.,
 e. g., Gervasio Silva, 1938, pp. 40-41.)

721 not, however, to extend territory. Most of our information, however, concerns warfare as carried on between the Araucanians and the Spaniards.

Preparation for war.—The first step toward deciding upon war was usually the sending, by a headman or group, of a messenger to headmen and groups desired as confederates. The messenger carried an arrow tied with a red string, symbolic of blood, or, if hostilities had already begun, with the finger of a slain enemy attached to the arrow. He also carried a quipu for each headman or group, to indicate the day of assembly. When all had assembled on the appointed day, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with the animal's blood, while all of the headmen ate a bit of the heart of the animal as a pledge of united purpose. The war decision was made by general agreement. A leader was chosen by preference from among the existing headmen or prominent warriors. His authority was considerable but lasted only so long as war lasted. His mark of office was the *tobi*, the name by which he himself was called. In the later 16th century, at least, the *tobi*-es was kept in hiding during peacetime and brought out in time of war. The fighting men before going to war shaved their heads, leaving only a circle of hair, abstained from sex relations, and ate and drank sparingly for 3 days before starting out.

725 Tactics and weapons.—As early as 1563, the Araucanians had begun to use cavalry in battle on a fairly large scale; later, they used it much more frequently. In battle formation, the infantry advanced in the center and the cavalry on the wings. The use of advance guards, sentinels at night, trenches protected with thorn branches, piquets and ditches with sharp stakes at the bottom, spear and fifth-column work, and big forts and palisades was common. Each warrior carried with him a small bag of parched meal which, with salt and ají, constituted his food. A common war cry was to strike the open mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand while shouting and to repeat this four times (Münchbeck, 1889, p. 126).

441 Infantry weapons were chiefly the following: Bow and arrow, spear, club, and sling. The spears were 20, 30, or more palms long (about 14 to 20 feet), with fire-hardened or stone points. Spears were sometimes thrown as javelins (Féret, 1716, p. 38; cf. "gorgos," in Ercilla, canto 23, 1610, p. 413, and Oña, canto 8, 1617, p. 238). The bow was short, according to González de Nájera (1609, p. 96, 3 palms) with slow string; the arrows, according to González de Nájera (*ibid.*, pp. 95-96), about 25 palms long, of cane, usually with bone heads, not poisoned but lightly attached to the shaft and apt to come off in the wound, were carried in a quiver. The clubs were of two kinds, a very long two-handed blow club of heavy wood, about 15 palms long, according to González de Nájera (1609, p. 96); and another type of

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. 411
(Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47-48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick seal-skin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the Araucanians were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives be- 727
longed to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Some- [567]
times captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree (*Drinys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39-44; cf. Rosales, 1877-78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47-48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165-66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144-45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835-36, 1:389-90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched. [535]

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches 728

728 of the same. The usual speeches were made and agreements concurred in. A white llama was killed, and each headman present consumed a bit of the heart while the canelos were anointed with the blood of the llama. A hole was dug in the ground and therein were buried arrows, tokis, and other instruments of war. The hole was then filled up and a canelo planted over it.

CANNIBALISM

266 From the accounts left us by Gennés de Nájera (1589, pp. 54, 56), Bascuñan (1683, p. 43), Rosales (1877-78, 1:125), and others, there can be no reasonable doubt that a certain amount of cannibalism in connection with the killing of war prisoners was practiced by the *Araucanians*. As to the purpose, our sources are not clear; magical acquisition of power does not seem indicated. In some cases the captors cut flesh off the living captive, broiled it, and ate it; in other cases they burnt the bones of captives, reduced them to powder, and drank the powder mixed with lime; in still other cases the more common custom, the heart of the captive was cut out, sucked, and bitten into by the headmen and sometimes by others as well, or was cut up into small bits and each ate a bit—as was the common custom with the hearts of sacrificed animals.

Some of our early sources—Oña (canto 2, 1917, p. 86), Fernández (1611, cited by Medina, 1882, p. 217) and Molina (1878 a, p. 253; 1901, p. 165)—mention human sacrifice proper among the *Araucanians*, but without giving convincing evidence or details. There is a greater probability that it did not occur. (For summary and discussion of evidence, cf. McClafferty, 1932, pp. 27-29.)

LIFE CYCLE

844 Birth.—It was taboo for an expectant mother to stand on the threshold of the hut. To give birth within the family hut was thought to bring evil upon the inmates. When travail began, the woman, accompanied by a relative or friend as midwife, retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea. Delivery was in kneeling position. Midwives showed considerable skill in cases of difficult delivery, and practiced cephalotomy when they thought it indicated (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, p. 713). The umbilical cord was ordinarily cut with a flint knife (Latham, 1922 b, p. 561). Various plant medicines were used to facilitate delivery; also, recently at least, a decoction of *Datura stramonium* to deaden the pains; and during and for a while after delivery, the mother took no cold drink (Gusinde, 1936, pp. 561, 565, and passim).

846 The mother bathed the infant and herself in a stream or in the sea right after birth. After remaining in seclusion 8 days, or in some cases less, she returned with the child for the naming feast. At this

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltán, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On *kupa* names, see *supra* under Kinship, p. 723.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1888, p. 213; Latham, 1909, pls. 34-35; cf. Moeschbach, 1936, pp. 186-88 for description).



FIGURE 78.—*Mépuke* cradle. (After Smith, 1888, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were out (Latham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, p. 713).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Guinda (1936, *passim*) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:341-43; 1936, p. 223). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb *koftan*, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1936, p. 223; 1939, 2:343). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in House (1939, p. 249).

868 Education.—Two poles 10 to 12 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.6 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263-64; Guinda, 1916-17, pp. 305-12.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amorous threat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 1055-56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (House, 1939, pp. 267-78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and intractable children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Guinda, 1936, p. 833).

[276] No puberty rites or observances prophylactic are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, *infra*, Argentine Araucanians, p. 787.)

761 Death and burial.—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Baeruben (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moeschbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Baeruben, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the *awn*, or *awn* rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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PLATE 105.—*Assmanniana* grass, roots, and seedling. Top left: Grass roots.
Top right: Roots, or seedling's holder. Bottom: Separate seedling, or root.
(Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

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PLATE 122.—Mapuche pottery. *Left: Mapuche coiling technique in pottery making. Right: Types of modern Mapuche pottery.* (After Claude Jouphe, 1931, figs. 16, 20.)

[734 B]



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PLATE 14.—Araucanian Indians and Araucanian masks. Top: Mounted Araucanians. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) Bottom: Modern Mapuche masks. (After Claude Joseph, 1981, fig. 28.)

[P. 734 C]

764 These operations or of the pall holder of the dead person, the bones or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and washing the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drum* water, which gives dense fumes, keeping the body on the frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—suffa, chicks, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicks, duck meats to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicks *Shoshon* and *Woshon*; much feasting and chicks drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or *Shung* had its own special ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, in which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in *dogwood* shape, covered with a similar tanned *dogwood* or heavy planking; in some recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a *dog* grove, was formerly as a rule on the surface. *Aluminate* and *shung*, according to the use of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or *shin*. An alternative method, reported by *Gonzalez de Nájera* (1592, p. 80) for *carique*, was to place the covered *dogwood* coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked poles.

[765] Since as early at least as the middle half of the 16th century (*Cervantes i Guevara*, 1579, p. 140; *McClafferty*, 1922, pp. 47-48), bones were piled over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from *Smith*, 1625, p. 172), and a lance with an attached bannerlet implanted upright in the ground. In the *Heilich* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 122, top, left) (*Smith*, 1625, p. 200; *Montebach*, 1926, p. 685).

There is no ethnological or archaeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (*Romero*, 1877-78, 1:163). There is archaeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapache-Heilich* territory (*Latham*, 1915 b, pp. 211-12, 226; 1922 b, pp. 785-86; 1926 b, pp. 206-7, figs. 3-6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapache-Heilich*.

[765] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. *Latham*, 1915 b, pp. 272-300.)

774 Concept of soul and future life.—The human soul or spirit was called *pall* (*pall*, *palli*), *am*, *alw*, *lali*, *alwis*. Such differences of meaning

774 on the negative evidence which are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Fabris (1882) and Rowland (1888, 1891), an *alma* denotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Lamborn (1922 b, p. 361) *pallo* is never used, not to give one soul for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of *alma* is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes *pillan*. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the Mapuche-Bellike believed man to have one or more "souls."

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FIGURE 13.—Mapuche person, with tunic, skin and staff. (After Smith, 1882, p. 178.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the shade of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a continued one; according to another, not so good, heavier as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life, although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

thought it was, as some have thought more recently (Hewson, 1922, p. 90). Other beliefs were that caniques after death dwelt in volcanoes or in the stars or the Milky Way; sometimes, it came or in the depths of volcanoes; warriors, in the sky. Storms, thunder, and lightning were, according to one tradition, caused by battles in the air, waged by the spirits of departed natives against the spirits of Spaniards. The spirits of dead caniques could revisit the living in the form of large blue fish.

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[P21]



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FIGURE 66.—Mapuche grave, with upright beams and fashings of rough-hewn boards. (After Smith, 1912, p. 227.)

RECREATIVE AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Design was confined almost exclusively to geometric patterns. There was no figure modeling in clay except the steamer-duck pitchers previously noted, no sculpture in stone, and no artistic wood carving, except certain crude wooden masks (collén: cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234-36) used at gatherings and in hockey games and the rudely shaped human figures in wood set up at graves.

Literature.—Oratory was in high esteem, taught and cultivated, and promoted as an avenue to prestige and public office. A special highly figurative style prevailed in public speeches, with the use of special phrases and turns of expression peculiar thereto. Special songs were

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Special songs were

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composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of his and friends, freedom, action, death and harassment, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119-21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122-24; 1913, after p. 126, with musical notation; Félix José, 1916, many songs passim.) Besides the singers and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15-21) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (González, 1938, pp. 76-77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:82, c. v. *luceros*) look more European.

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Music.—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (*kil'trai*), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (*pitillita*) of wood, and formerly of human longbone; a wind instrument (*tro-troka*), 10 to 12 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of Chaparral sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cuttlefish trumpet (*kullak*). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (*vada*). Ishkowitz (1933, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of Chaparral sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Hause, 1909, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:261-62; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Ishkowitz, 1933, p. 208)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

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Dances.—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascutan (1903, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern Mapuche dances (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:285; 1909, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern Mapuche dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1916, pp. 45-46), and use of masks (pl. 155, bottom) of wood and of cane leaves (Guevara Silva, 1908, 1:285; 1909, p. 129; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234-36).

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Recreation.—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche was the *kawit*. This consisted primarily

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The feast was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and an orgy—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking bouts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the creation of a hut, weaving and dyeing, dowsing, the completing of a new temple for deity making, marriages, births, athletic events, initiation into the priesthood, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejecting food in such bouts.



FIGURE 81.—Mapuche hockey sticks and ball. (After Mampel, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chess (sutun, etc., palisman) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of Chaparral sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 189-208.) Various magic-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

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ARABIC GAMBING GAMES

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526 526 a ball game, often, in which the ball was thrown from under the right and caught by hand.

526 The two most important games of chess were the two games (Bata, Bata, Bata) played with 2 or 12 balls, each player taking as an aim, the least advantage being "what is" when drawn, and both played with two balls (though the ball is lost).

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling, however, was, in connection with chess, not among the native Americans, the ball was Spanish playing with. They

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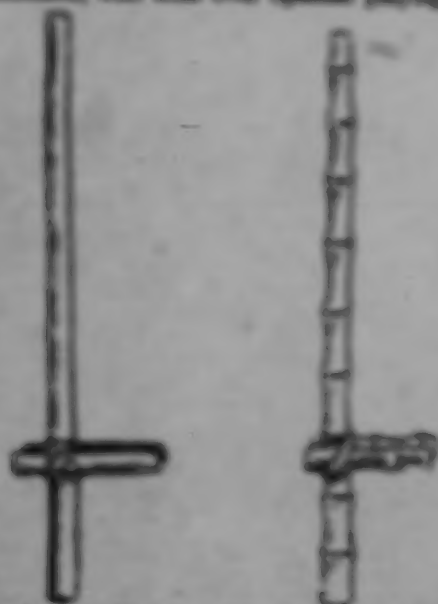


FIGURE 62.—Mapuche stick. (After Henshaw, 1914, fig. 62)

records of gambling in Ecuador (1882, p. 61), Ovalla (1888, 12:100), and Henshaw (1877-78, 1:100-70) suggest that American gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the Mapuche are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 529 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lana, 1904-10, 2:602, 743-49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Bata (fig. 62), mentioned as early as the middle 16th century by Fabris (1602, a. v. thominasine; cf. Menquillo, 1914, pp. 275-76; Félix José, 1918, 1:326), may be native. Harvestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guereira Silva, 1911, pp. 157-58) mentions a gambling game in

RELIGION

771 Mapuche-Mestizo religion may for convenience be treated under the following topics: Theism, the Fílas cult, miscellaneous magical-religious beliefs and observances, and shamanism. The first three will be treated in this section; the last in a separate section to follow.

776 Theism.—Theistic beliefs and practices played a very important role in the religious life of the modern Mapuche-Mestizo. The difficult question of the aboriginality of this theism will be taken up later.

The Supreme Being was looked upon as the maker of everything, who had mastery or power over man and nature, who gave life and fecundity to man, animals, and plants, and who controlled the forces of nature for the happiness or unhappiness of man. He was an active rather than an otiose deity. Two of the more common names by which he was known were *quischen* (master of men) and *quischapu* (master of the land). Another form of address was *chica* (father), but he was unanimously addressed as *rey chica* (king father) and *rey madre* (queen ancient one, or mother). Other names of the Supreme Being were "King," "Ancient One," "Ancient King Above," "Ancient Queen Above," "Young Man *quischen*," "Young Woman *quischen*," "Blue King Father," "Blue Queen Mother," "Two Faces *quischen* (*quischapu*). "Two Faces" (white and black) apparently referred to sunshine and rain prayed for in public rites, and also to ambivalent indulgent and severe attitudes of the Supreme Being. "Blue" connoted the residence of the Supreme Being up in the sky, where he was supposed to reside in a house of pure gold, or in the sun. According to some natives, he lived in volcanoes and had a wife and children, but no parents. The Supreme Being could be and was commonly approached in prayer. He was not concerned with the moral order, nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by him. He was prayed to for material favors, particularly for food and life, but not for forgiveness or spiritual strength.

776 Cult of the Supreme Being took three distinct forms; the public
782 *yillatun*, private prayers and offerings, and shamanistic practices. The last of these will be dealt with later under shamanism.

The private practices, on which fewer details are available, included prayers and occasional blood sacrifices of animals (Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 26-27), and also first-fruit offerings. As a regular practice before eating or drinking, a bit of the meat or liquid or animal blood was offered to the Supreme Being with a short prayer to him to continue giving food. (Domeyko, 1845, p. 46; Guinnard, 1864, p. 147, Argentine Aruacians; Ruiz Aldea, 1902, pp. 41, 65; cf. Latham, 1922 b, p. 522, offering to spirits.)

796 On the public rite, the *yillatun*, we have rather a large mass of data. (Félix José, 1910; Guevara Silva, 1898, pp. 268-69; 1908, pp. 302-10;

1911, pp. 120-42; 1912, 1:432-42; House, 1919, pp. 120-12; Meischner, 1919, pp. 171-84; Robins Robinson, 1942, pp. 9-26.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremony, called *we'pi*, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from *machi*), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicks for the feast; the *weve*, a branch or branches of *Arctostaphylos*, *Arctostaphylos* *upei*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 82); the erection of the *la'la'la*, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 84); repeated chanting of the *weve*, on encircling of the *weve* and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Arctostaphylos* *upei* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicks, cooking the chicks off and spitting it out toward the sky, and expiring with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast.

In some cases the *machi* took a leading part in the *willatun* rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the *weve*, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e. g., House, 1919, pp. 106-10; see also *infra* under Shamanism, p. 799.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the *willatun* rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the *konchotun* rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 737), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this *konchotun* rite is performed as part of the *willatun* rite, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the *willatun* "altar" (Meischner, 1919, p. 390).

Is the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal.

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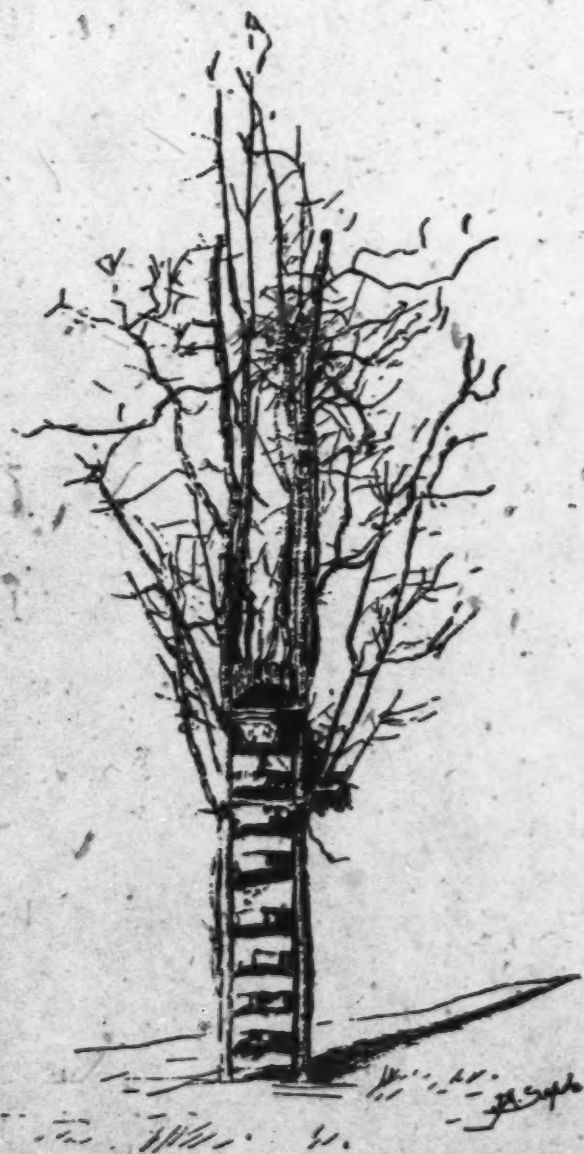


FIGURE 83.—A Mapuche rewe. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 237.)

Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillán or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of these writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

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FIGURE 84.—A *Mapuche llajillu*. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 239.)

West of the Andes, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Fathers Adeodato da Bologna and Octaviano de Nizza (Félix José, 1910, pp. 252–56) and of Domeyko (1845, pp. 45–46) and Smith (1855, p. 273), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . They also call him Guenu-pillán, the spirit of Heaven; Buta-gen, the great being (wen, "master"); Thalcave, the Thunderer; Vilvemvov, the Creator of all; Vilpepilvov, the Omnipotent; Mollgelu, the Eternal; Avnolu, the Infinite, &c . . . He is the great Toqui of the invisible world . . . [Molina, 1901, p. 186, cf. 1878 a, p. 245.]

776 Carralio i Goyeneche (1876, p. 137) held that the *Mapuche* had no
 177 concept of a Supreme Being and that Molina's names for him were the
 inventions of missionaries. But the case may not be as simple as this
 markedly unsympathetic chronicler of the *Araucanians* made it.
 Some of Molina's names for the Supreme Being, taken perhaps from
 Febrés (1882) or L. de Valdivia (1887), such as Vilpepilvœ (cf. Argentine
Araucanian names: Pepilfœ, Barbará, 1879, p. 161; Filpepilfœ,
 Milanésio, 1898, p. 41) and Vilvemvœ are pretty surely of Christian
 origin. But others, such as Guenu-pillán (cf. Félix José, 1910, p. 227,
 Wenu Rey Fucha, "Above King Old"), Buta-gen (cf. Argentine
Araucanian names for Supreme Being: Fecha huentú, "great man,"
 Barbará, 1930, p. 48; Vita Ouènetrou, "great man," Guinnard, 1864,
 pp. 82, 145; Cuchaentrú, "great man," Mansilla, 1877, 2:32; Feta
 huentú, Moreno, 1879, pp. 108, 114), and great Toqui (cf. Toquichen,
 Falkner, 1935, p. 114, and variants of *wenechen*, infra), have a more
 aboriginal ring.

East of the Andes, among the Argentine *Araucanians*, the Supreme
 Being concept is recorded consistently by our chief 19th-century
 observers—La Vaulx (1901, pp. 139, 178-79), Milanésio (1898, pp. 41-
 42), Moreno (1879, pp. 10, 108, 113-14), Mansilla (1877, 2:32), Cox
 (1863, p. 172), Guinnard (1864, pp. 82, 145-48, 237), Barbará (1879,
 pp. 102, 161; 1930, p. 48), D'Orbigny (1835-47, 2:259), De la Cruz
 (1836, p. 48)—and back to the period of first close European contact
 in the second third of the 18th century by the Jesuit missionaries
 of the 1740's to their expulsion in 1767-68 (Falkner, 1935, p. 114;
 cf. Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65). The Argentine "*Péguénche*"
 observed in 1806 by De la Cruz (1836, p. 48) all believed in a Supreme
 Being who made and governed all things, who was expected to look
 after them "as a father," who protected and helped them, but who was
 not offended at the evil they did. According to Falkner (1935, p. 114),
 who spoke *Araucanian* and who had been in close contact with the
Araucanians over many years:

These Indians [tribes of Argentine Pampa] believe in two superior beings, the
 one good, the other evil. The good power is called by the Moluches Toquichen,
 which signifies governor of the people. . . .

Furthermore, some significant correspondences occur between
 names of the Supreme Being used among both the *Mapuche-Huilliche*
 and the Argentine *Araucanians*. *Mapuche-Huilliche wenechen*, "mas-
 ter of men," and variants, occurs among the Argentine *Araucanians*
 as Geunetchen (La Vaulx, 1901, p. 139), Gne-che (Milanésio, 1898,
 p. 41), Günechen (Barbará, 1879, pp. 102, 161), correlating with
 "governs all things" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48), Toquichen, "governor of
 the people" (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 169, "great
 Toqui of the invisible world"); *Mapuche-Huilliche wenechapun*, "master
 of the land," and variants, with *reyne mapu* (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147);

Mepuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147), *chachao* (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them "as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); *Boma-gan*, as *supra*. And on both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. *supra*). 776 177

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See *supra*, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the *gillatun* rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drims* *wisteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent. 796

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, *Wann tripantu*, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to *Ranishuenu* (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 1063-64).

The *Pillán* cult.—In contrast to *wenéchen*, who was associated with and appealed to mostly for food and long life, *Pillán* (*Pillan*) was pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés, 1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of *Pillán* (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, p. 184), epidemics were attributed to *Pillán's* anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse *Pillán's* ire. Data, too, on the cult of *Pillán* are meager and scattered. According to Marcgrav (1648, p. 286), *Pillán* was appealed to by the *Mepuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in 776 [821] [823] [753]

776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillan." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillan. Pillan, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillan, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see *infra*), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(a) *Wekufu*.—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called *wekufu* (*huecuvu*, *güecubu*, and variants). *Wekufu*, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillan and *ñéchen*, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to *wekufu*. Rites in connection with *wekufu*, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving *wekufu* away.

774 (b) *Animistic spirits*.—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as *Marépuantu* (twelve suns), *Meul'en* [*wekufu*] (whirlwind [*wekufu*]), *Anchimallen aremko* (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as *ñen'ko shompallwe*, and other names), *Epuñamufi* (two feet), *Nguenpiru* (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. *Meul'en*, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; *Epuñamun*, as god of war. "Maruapoante" was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (*cf. infra*); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51-52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45-49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(c) *Manistic beings*.—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called *Pillanes*, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See *infra* under Shamanism, p. 750.)

789 (d) *Magic*.—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95-97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211-16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259-61; 1913, pp. 266-69, 272-73, and passim in ch. 5.)

(e) *Ritual patterns*.—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke.

(f) *Divination*.—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latham, 1922 b, pp. 516-17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.)

(g) *Omens*.—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird flying at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877-78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52-53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313-16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 231-83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114-15.)

(h) *Taboos*.—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226-30; 1929, 2:155-66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly.

(i) *Oaths*.—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 83; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 61-62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41),

788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt (1883, 2:709-10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resemblance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophium" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, top left). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances, and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer
787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Bonales, 1877-78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanoes: Félix

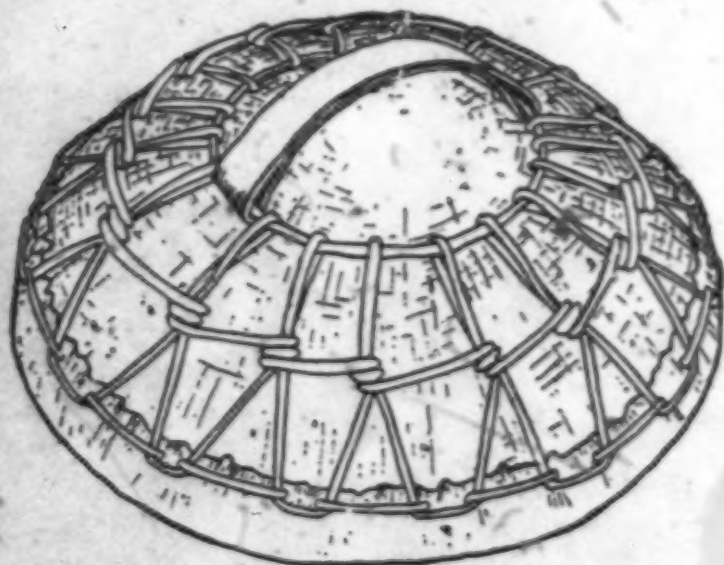


FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal *wekuffi* (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

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claimed to derive her power directly from *el diablo*, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased *machi*s to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Basculan (1853, pp. 159-61), included: Use of the *Drings* winteri, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trances. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the *machi* of the ladderlike pole of the *rewa* (pl. 153, top, right), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the *machi*'s assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Mosbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the *willatun* rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and House have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the *machi* entered intimately and actively into the *willatun* rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

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The line between the shaman (*machi*) and the sorcerer (*kal-ku*) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the *machi*'s function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A *kal-ku* believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of *ivunche* (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167-72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773

Much of Mapuche-Huilliche folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

aboriginal elements and and later intruded ones begin. Much, how-
ever, that is aboriginal has survived.

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Cosmogony centered chiefly around the *tray tray* flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877-78, 1:3). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, *tray tray* and *kalkai*. The higher *kalkai* raised the waters, the higher did *tray tray* raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1910, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huelliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as *Mam'ón* and *Shompallu* previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), *Chaurife* (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as *Waillepen* (a calf-sheep), *Piwichen* (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the *Lemure motif*); sorcery and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of Araucanian folklore cf.: Lens, 1885-87, especially 94:100-20, 245-62, animal stories; 94:591-719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319-63; 1911, pp. 98-117; Félix José, 1910, *passim*; Speck, 1924; Soustelle, 1928.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 23), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to *Pillán* or *wakuf*.

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From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details.

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Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916-17) lists 224 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti-

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757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916-17, pp. 61-62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877-78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with besoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916-17.)

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[202] Communication.—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lobera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82-84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, *ibid.*).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxes or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306-07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

131 Of the culture of the Picunche, the Araucanian-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

Bio-Bio River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Letcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Letcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapuche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Marife de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46-47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Letcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Letcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pelunche*" of Marife de Lovera, Rosales, and Pistas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pelunche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pelunche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30' and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pelunche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine Araucanians, including these latter "*Pelunche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1797, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1906), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765-80, De la Cruz (1836) 1806, Poeppig (1835-36) 1828-29, D'Orbigny (1835-47) 1829, Barbard (1879, 1930), 1847-48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856-60, Cox (1863) 1862-63, Musters (1871) 1860-70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874-77, Milanesio (1898) 1884-88, La Vaulx (1897-98, 1901) 1896-97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbard's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine Araucanians is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

177 The culture of the Argentine Araucanians was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient Araucanian culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine Araucanians, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean Araucanians, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 126; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70-71, 239; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the Pehuenches ordinarily did not plant. The Pehuenches of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1836, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835-36, 1:381, 383) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the Araucanians farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

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301 The Pehuenches men as well as women used to paint their faces and arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-Araucanian Pampean tribes, were: The beta de petro (Molina, 1901, p. 263; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835-36, 1:382) or tolido (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144-45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:235), and of a certain clay for rub-

ling their bodies to smoke (D'Orbigny, 1828-47, 2:288; Cox, 1862, 177
 p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after
 the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1828-47, 2:241); the smoke was
 often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1904, pp.
 149-50; Cox, 1862, p. 42; Manilla, 1877, 2:48; cf. Falkner, 1810, p.
 61), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean
 Araucanians (Ossera Silva, 1811, p. 280).

Some camps seen by Morano (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 621
 large tablas occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman 622
 of the group. The "caciques" listed by De la Cruz (1828-47, 2:10-
 181) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them.

Among the *Pelencas* described by De la Cruz (1828, p. 50), the 551
 names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the
 father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival
 one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pelencas*,
 according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1862, pp.
 142-43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, appar-
 ently a kins name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the
 names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman
 was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might
 be so called but not by a stranger.

According to Guinnard (1904, pp. 120-23), to be born with more 826
 than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the
 whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones
 or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off
 to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike
 cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1901 b, p. 79); for creep they were given,
 as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "shell," and
 gunpowder. 847 157

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the 881
 Argentine Araucanians.

Among the *Pelencas* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses
 occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a
 corner of the table with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon
 any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early
 dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly
 a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and
 gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots.
 Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new
 status. (De la Cruz, 1828, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1828-
 47, 2:247-48; and Barba, 1879, pp. 178-79, and 1890, p. 29, were
 taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1862, pp. 150-60) for the "*Pelencas*"
 north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin,
 who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

more to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the table, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first *fiesta* described by Miers (1879, p. 13) among the "Pehuenches" of the Collón-Curú, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillán in the Lake Nahuelhuapi region, included a 3-day dance around a damajagua by day—with five dances performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the *fiesta*—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic ones, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by Le Vase (1857-58, pp. 95-96; more detailed in 1871, pp. 212-22) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of eight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were given for the feast, two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with white feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drums; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The *fiesta* recorded by Chacabuco (1833-34, pp. 1061-63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short recluses for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above *fiesta* strongly suggest *Tehuacano* or other trans-Andean influences. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first *fiestas* among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

Among the *Pehuenches* of Antioquia, a corpse was taken out of the tolido fast first, but the deceased returns (Poeppig, 1833-36, 1:393).

Argentine *Araucanians* Chilen (see *supra*, p. 742) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1856, pp. 38, 40, 51; Poeppig, 1833-36, 1:394-96; Barboza, 1879, pp. 185-86; Millonni, 1886, pp. 43-44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the name "Soy-Chá" for

the Supreme Being (Barbari, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for *wakufu*. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cor, 1863, p. 58; Milanese, 1898, p. 41).

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1964, pp. 343-44).

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "Pehuenche" are the following: Marito de Lovers (1865), 1863-63; Rosales (1877-78), 1860-53; Pistas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1837), ca. 1780; Molina (1901), before 1767-68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1878), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765-80; De la Cruz (1838), 1808; Poeppig (1835-36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929-30, 63:100-72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "Pehuenche," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance.

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "Pehuenche" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources.

These latter "Pehuenche" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "Pehuenche" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pistas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, *pitana*, from which, according to Marito de Lovers (1865, p. 208) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement

